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CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

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.. A PAPER ..

—) READ BY (—

—MAJOR CHARLES E. BLIVEN—

—) BEFORE THE (—

Illinois Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion,
Chicago, Ills., Feb. 11, 1892.

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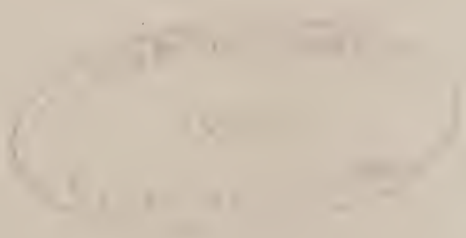
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CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

A Paper read before the Illinois Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Chicago, Ill., February 11th, 1892.

MR. COMMANDER AND COMPANIONS :

THE American people are apt to look upon the Continental Congress, so-called, through the eyes of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and attribute all the credit and responsibility of carrying on the War of the Revolution, to those whose names appear upon that immortal document.

This should not be the case, for while there were from time to time, eighty-three members of the '76 or Independence Congress, the names of but fifty-six are signed to the Declaration : at least six of whom, to-wit : Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor and Geo. Ross of Pennsylvania, and Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire, were not members of Congress when it was proposed, discussed and adopted, and one of these not a member for nearly four months after it was adopted ; and did not sign it until he was elected and appeared as a member of the next succeeding Congress.

Others were members only of the Congress that did adopt it ; several members of the second or "Independence" Congress advocated and one voted for it, whose names do not appear upon it ; several otherwise very active and influential members of the '76 or Independence Congress, opposed the Declaration, and apparently left Congress rather than vote for it, and what is more remarkable, one of the Committee appointed to draft the Declaration itself, Robert R. Livingston, did not vote for it or sign it.

Others were chosen to this Congress who were either absent or did not vote, and one member, Thos. McKean of Delaware, who not only advocated and voted for it, and was most influential and instrumental in securing the signatures of the delegates from that colony, (and was, I am constrained to say, one of the original authors of the ideas in the Declaration), yet his name, although upon the document itself, did not appear among the signers when it was first officially made public ; nor does it appear among the signatures published in the official journal.

Another, Henry Wisner, a delegate from Orange County, New York, not only advocated and apparently voted for the Declaration, and evidently was a member of the Congress for some days after it was adopted, yet his name does not appear upon it, as he retired from Congress before it was engrossed and ready for signatures.

The first session of "Continental Congress," so-called, was begun and held in Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, A. D. 1774.

This body was the outgrowth of a meeting of Commissioners from the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New

York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, who met at New York on the 7th day of October, 1765.

And this meeting was the outgrowth of the first Congress ever held in America, to-wit: at Albany, in June, 1754, at which Virginia, North and South Carolina were conspicuous by their absence, and which was the result of a proposition by Massachusetts "for a Congress of Commissioners for the several Colonies to consult together on the present circumstances of the Colonies; the acts of Parliament laying duties and taxes upon them; also to consider a general and humble address to His Majesty and Parliament for relief, and agree upon a memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to the King and Commons acknowledging allegiance, but claiming they had interests, rights, and liberties, as natural born subjects to His Majesty, and as they could not be represented in Parliament, that party had no right to impose taxes upon them without consent." Subsequently the other Colonies, not represented in this Congress, also gave the Memorial their sanction.

An extract from the minutes, to-wit: the "Journals of Congress," reads as follows:

"On Monday, Sept. 5th, 1774, a number of delegates chosen and appointed by the several Colonies and provinces in North America, to meet and hold a Congress at Philadelphia, assembled at Carpenter's Hall.

There were present:

From New Hampshire --Maj. John Sullivan, Esq., Col. Nathaniel Folsom, Esq.

From Massachusetts Bay--The Hon. Thos. Cushing, John Adams, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Esq.

From Rhode Island and Providence Plantations--The Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq., the Hon. Samuel Ward, Esq.

From Connecticut--The Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Esq., the Hon. Roger Sherman, Esq., Silas Deane, Esq.

From the City and County of New York, and other Counties in the Province of New York--James Duane, Esq., John Jay, Esq., Phillip Livingston, Esq., Isaac Low, Esq.

From the County of Suffolk, in the Province of New York--Col. William Floyd, Esq.

From New Jersey--James Kinsey, Esq., John DeHart, Esq., William Livingston, Esq., Stephen Crane, Esq., Richard Smith, Esq.

From Pennsylvania--The Hon. Joseph Galloway, Esq., Chas. Humphreys, Esq., Samuel Rhodes, Esq., Thos. Mifflin, Esq., John Morton, Esq., Edward Biddle, Esq.

From the Counties of Kent, Sussex, and New Castle on Delaware--The Hon. Cæsar Rodney, Esq., Thos. McKean, Esq.

From Maryland--Robert Goldsborough, Esq., William Paca, Esq., Samuel Chase, Esq.

From Virginia--The Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., George Washington, Esq., Patrick Henry, Esq., Richard Bland, Esq., Benjamin Harrison, Esq., Edmund Pendleton, Esq.

From South Carolina—Henry Middleton, Esq., Christopher Gadsden, Esq., John Rutledge, Esq., Thos. Lynch, Esq., Edward Rutledge, Esq. 43 in all.

“‘The Congress’ proceeded to a choice of a President, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph was unanimously elected. Mr. Chas. Thompson was unanimously chosen Secretary.

“The gentlemen from the several Colonies produced their respective credentials, which were received and approved.” Thus runs the official record.

The Delegates from the Province of New Hampshire were appointed by Deputies from the several towns, at a meeting held at Exeter, July 21st, 1774, at which eighty-five members were present.

These delegates to Congress were empowered; “to devise, consult and adopt such measures as may have most likely tendency to extricate the colonies from their present difficulties; to secure and perpetuate their rights, liberties and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony and mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the Mother Country and her colonies.”

The Delegates from the Province of Massachusetts Bay were appointed by the House of Representatives on June 17th, 1774, “to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures * * * for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies.” [The Hon. Thos. Bowdoin, Esq., one of the delegates so appointed, does not appear to have attended the Congress.]

From the Province of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the delegates were appointed by the General Assembly, and were empowered “to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British Parliament, for levying taxes upon His Majesty’s subjects in America without their consent, and particularly an act lately passed blocking up the port of Boston, and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the Colonies upon a just and solid foundation.”

These credentials were signed by John Walton, Esq., Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief over the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, on the 10th day of August, 1774, and the 14th year of the reign of His most sacred Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain.

The delegates from Connecticut were appointed by a Committee of correspondence, which was appointed by the House of Representatives, June 3d, to select such delegates “to attend such Congress to consult and advise upon proper measures for advancing the best ‘Good of the Colonies’.” Of those appointed, the Hon. William Samuel Johnson, Esq., Erastus Wolcott, Esq., Richard Law, Esq., and Joseph Trumbull, Esq., failed to attend.

The delegates from New York were selected at polls held in several wards in the city and county of New York. Subsequently, the counties of Westchester, Albany and Dutchess appointed the same delegates. The county of Suffolk appointed Col. William Floyd as their representative. •

The delegates from New Jersey were appointed “by a convention of fourteen, appointed by the several counties who met at New Brunswick, July 23d, and the 14th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King George the Third, and A. D. 1774.”

The delegates from Pennsylvania were appointed by the Assembly, July 22d,

1774, "to form and adopt a plan for the purpose of obtaining redress of American grievances, asserting American rights upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both."

The delegates from the three counties, Kent, New Castle, and Sussex on Delaware, were appointed by a convention of "Freeholders and freemen, assembled on Aug. 1st, 1774, pursuant to circular letters issued from the Speaker of the House, * * * as the House had adjourned to the 30th Sept. next, and it is not expected that His Honor, the Governor, would call us together, * * * having refused to do the like in his other provinces of Pennsylvania," adopted the following resolutions, to-wit:

"We, the representatives of the freemen of the Government of the counties of Kent, New Castle, and Sussex on Delaware, * * * taking into our most serious consideration the several acts of the British Parliament for restricting manufactures in his Majesties colonies and plantations in North America, for taking away the property of the colonists without their participation or consent; for the introduction of the arbitrary powers of excise into the customs here; for making all revenue causes liable without jury, and under the decision of a single dependent judge; for trial in England of persons accused of Capital crimes committed in the Colonies; for shutting up the port of Boston; for the government of the Massachusetts Bay, and the operation of the same on the property, liberty, and lives of the Colonists; and also considering that the most eligible mode of determining upon the premises and of endeavoring to procure relief and redress of our grievances, * * * and of answering the desire of our constituents is to appoint commissioners or deputies to act with those appointed by the other provinces * * * in a General Continental Congress, etc."

The delegates from the province of Maryland were appointed at a meeting of the Committee appointed by the several counties of Maryland the 22d and 25th days of June, 1774, "to attend a general Congress of Deputies from the Colonies at such time and place as may be agreed upon, to effect one general plan of conduct operating on the commercial connection of the colonies with the Mother Country, for the relief of Boston and the preservation of American liberty."

The delegates from the colony of Virginia were appointed "at a general meeting of the delegates from the different counties in this colony, convened in the city of Williamsburg, to take under their consideration the present critical and alarming situation on the Continent of America." Hon. Peyton Randolph in the chair, it was unanimously resolved: "That in the opinion of this meeting, it will be highly conducive to the security and happiness of the British Empire, that a General Congress of deputies from all the Colonies assemble as soon as the nature of their situation will admit, to consider the most proper and effectual manner of so operating on the commercial connection of the Colonies with the Mother Country as to produce redress for the much injured province of Massachusetts Bay; to secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to secure the return of that harmony and union so beneficial to the whole empire and so ardently desired by British America."

The delegates from South Carolina were appointed at "a general meeting,

July 8th, 1774, of the inhabitants of this Colony, they having under consideration the Acts of Parliament lately passed with regard to the Port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as well as other American grievances, * * * to meet the Deputies of the other Colonies of North America in General Congress, * * * there to consider the Acts lately passed and bills pending in Parliament with regard to the Port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which Acts and Bills in the precedence and consequence affect the whole Continent of America ; also the grievances under which America labors by reason of the several Acts of Parliament that impose taxes or Duties for raising a revenue, and lay unnecessary restraint and burdens on Trade ; and of the statutes, Parliamentary Acts, and Royal instructions, which make an invidious distinction between his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain and America ; with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such measures as in the opinion of the said deputies and of deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of said Acts, and a redress of those grievances." Which appointment was confirmed by the Commons House of Assembly, Aug. 2d, 1774.

The delegates from North Carolina were appointed at a general meeting of Deputies of the inhabitants of this province at Newbern, the 25th day of August, 1774, when it was resolved, "that we approve of the proposal of a general Congress * * * to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and to take such measures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of America, repairing the breach made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violations done under the sanction of Public Authority ; that the Deputies attend such Congress, and they are thereby vested with such power as may make any act done by them, or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honor upon every inhabitant thereof who is not an alien to his Country's good, and an Apostate to the liberties of America."

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

On Friday, June 7th, 1776, the official record says in these words :

"Certain resolutions respecting Independency being moved and seconded :

Resolved, That the consideration of them be deferred till to-morrow morning ; and that the members be enjoined to attend punctually at 10 o'clock, in order to take the same into consideration.

On Saturday, June 8th, the record continues :

Resolved, That the Resolutions respecting Independency be referred to a Committee of the whole Congress.

The Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, and after some time the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Harrison, (Benj. Harrison, a delegate from Virginia), who was Chairman of the Committee of the Whole reported that "the Committee have taken into consideration the matter to them referred, but not having come to any resolution thereon, directed him to move for leave to sit again on Monday," when it was

Resolved, That this Congress will, on Monday next at 10 o'clock, resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into their further consideration the resolutions referred to them.

Monday, June 10th, the Journal continues: "Agreeably to order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into further consideration the resolutions to them referred, and after some time spent, the President resumed the Chair and Mr. Harrison reported that the Committee have had under consideration the matter referred to them and have come to a "resolution" thereon, which they have directed him to report."

The "Resolution" agreed to by the Committee of the whole Congress, being read, to-wit:

"That the consideration of the *first* 'resolution' be postponed to Monday, the first day of July next; and that in the meanwhile no time be lost in case Congress agree thereto, that a Committee be appointed to prepare a "Declaration" to the effect of the said first resolution, which is in these words:

"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved."

The journals do not show the name of the mover of the resolutions (though it is generally supposed to have been Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from Virginia) nor do the records give any further reference to the other resolutions moved on the 7th of June.

On Tuesday the 11th, it was resolved: "That the Committee for preparing the Declaration consist of five—the members chosen, Mr. Jefferson, Jr., Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. R. R. Livingston.

It was resolved the same day: "That a Committee be appointed to prepare and digest a form of a Confederation to be entered into between the Colonies."

And on June 12th it was resolved: "That the Committee * * * consist of a member from each colony." [The members appointed were Mr. Bartlett, N.H.; Mr. S. Adams, Mass.; Mr. Hopkins, R. I.; Mr. Sherman, Conn.; Mr. R. R. Livingston, N. Y.; Mr. Dickinson, Pa.; Mr. McKean, Delaware; Mr. Stone, Maryland; Mr. Nelson, Virginia; Mr. Hewes, N. C.; Mr. E. Rutledge, S. C.; Mr. Gwinnett, Ga.] Strange to say the name of the member from New Jersey is omitted.

On June 25th, 1776, a declaration of Pennsylvania was laid before Congress and read, expressing a willingness to concur in a vote declaring the United Colonies free and independent States. (The delegates to Congress from Pennsylvania who signed the Declaration were not appointed until July 20th, 1776—sixteen days after its adoption.)

No further action appears to have been taken until July 1st. Meantime the Colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey, had apparently instructed their then delegates, or in some cases appointed others, to vote with other colonies, or a majority of them, in declaring the colonies *free and independent states*

On Monday, July 1st, when the order of the day being read—

The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, and after some time the President resumed the Chair and Mr. Harrison reported: "That the Committee had come to a resolution which they desired him to report, and to move for leave to sit again."

The resolution agreed to by the Committee of the Whole being read, the de-

termination thereof was, at the request of a Colony, (Delaware ?) postponed until tomorrow, by the following resolution :

“That this Congress will tomorrow resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the Declaration respecting independence.”

“On this date Delaware was divided, Mr. McKean being in favor and Mr. Read against the Declaration; Mr. Rodney, who was in favor, being absent, Mr. McKean, at his private expense, dispatched an express into Delaware to acquaint Mr. Rodney with the delicate posture of affairs, and urge him to hasten his return to Philadelphia. Mr. Rodney arrived just as the members were entering the State House for final discussion of the subject, and entered the Hall with his spurs on his boots, and voted with Mr. McKean on the part of Delaware, and therein contributed to that unanimity among the Colonies on this great subject, without which a declaration had been worse than vain.” Goodrich’s *Lives of the Signers*.

Tuesday, July 2d, the Congress resumed the consideration of the resolution reported from the Committee of the Whole, which was agreed to as follows :

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, and after some time the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Harrison reported, “That the Committee have under consideration the *Declaration* to them referred, but not having had time to go through the same, desired him to move for leave to sit again.” When it was resolved,

“That this Congress will tomorrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into further consideration the Declaration respecting independence.”

Wednesday, July 3d, agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into further consideration the Declaration, and after some time the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the Committee not having gone through with it, desired leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will tomorrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into further consideration the Declaration of Independence.

Thursday, July 4th, agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into their consideration the Declaration, and after some time the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the Committee have agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report.

The Declaration being read was agreed to, as follows :

Here follows the Declaration with the fifty-six signatures familiar to all, and the Journal continues :

“The foregoing ‘Declaration’ was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members :”

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America, passed July 4th, was on the 19th ordered to be engrossed and signed by every member of

Congress, and on August 2d, the Declaration being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members.

As before stated, of those who signed the Declaration, Benj. Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, George Ross of Pennsylvania, were not members of Congress when the Declaration was proposed, discussed and adopted, not having been appointed to Congress until July 20th, following; and Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire was not a member of Congress until Nov. 4th, following. The name of Thos. McKean of Delaware does not appear among those of record in the Journals as having signed, but it is upon the Declaration itself.

INDEPENDENCE.

June 25, 1776, a declaration from Pennsylvania, expressing a willingness to concur in a vote declaring the United Colonies free and independent states, was laid before Congress.

June 28, 1776, delegates from New Jersey presented credentials empowering them to join with the delegates from the other Colonies in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain, etc.

June 28, 1776, a resolution adopted was laid before Congress, authorizing the delegates from Maryland to concur in declaring the United Colonies free and independent states.

New York, in Convention at White Plains, July 9th, 1776, "while lamenting the cruel necessity which rendered the measure unavoidable, unanimously agreed that the reasons assigned by Continental Congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent states, are cogent and conclusive, approve the same, and will at the risk of our lives and fortunes join with the other Colonies in supporting it."

INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY.

Upon the question to celebrate the Fourth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the vote stood aye 18, nay 13. The Chaplains to Congress were requested to prepare a sermon suitable for the occasion, on Sunday, July 4, 1779, and a Committee was appointed to prepare an entertainment for the 5th. A Committee was appointed June 2, 1781, to take proper measures to celebrate the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

January 18, 1777, an authenticated copy of the Declaration of Independence, with the names of the members of Congress subscribing to the same, was ordered sent to each of the United States, and they desired to have the same put upon record.

June 29, 1780, 200 copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Alliance between the United States and France, together with the Constitutions and forms of government of the several states, collected or published and ordered bound together in boards.

DECLARATION.

It has been asserted that the Declaration was adopted July 2d. The Journals do not show this to be the fact. The resolution declaring "that these colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states," was adopted

July 2d, but the Declaration of Independence was not completed and ready for adoption until July 4th, when it was considered in Committee of the Whole, and after the President had resumed the Chair, it was reported to Congress, read, and agreed to. July 19, 1776, it was, "Resolved, that the declaration passed on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment with the title and style of—'THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,'—and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress.

August 2, 1776, the Declaration of Independence being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members."

PRIOR DECLARATIONS.

The first Declaration adopted by Congress was on *Friday, October 14, 1774*, which set forth the arbitrary proceedings of Parliament and administration, and declared the inhabitants of the Colonies to have their rights, among which were life, liberty, and property, and the immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England, which by emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered or lost; that they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their own provincial legislatures and in all cases of taxation, internal policy, subject only to the negation of their sovereign; the right under the common law of England of being tried by their peers; the benefit of such English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization; to the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed by Royal Charter, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws; the right to peaceably assemble and petition the King; that keeping a standing army in the colonies in time of peace without the consent of the colony is against law; that the exercise of legislative power by a Council appointed by the King is unconstitutional, dangerous and destructive to the freedom of American legislation. That the Colonies claim, demand and insist upon, as their undeniable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any person whatever without their consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

Similar rights were declared by His Majesty's Most Loyal Subjects, in the Non-importation Act, adopted *October 20th, 1774*, following, signed by fifty three members of Congress; again in the address to the people of Great Britain, adopted *October 21st, 1774*; also in the memorial to the inhabitants of the colonies, adopted the same day. So, too, in the address to the inhabitants of Quebec, adopted *October 26th*, wherein the rights of the Colonies were set forth; while not asking them to commence hostilities against the government of a common sovereign, invited them to not suffer themselves to be intimidated by infamous ministers, but, "to unite with us in one social compact, formed on generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual, and to choose delegates to represent that province in the Continental Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the *10th day of May, 1775*."

The address to the King, adopted by the First Congress, also set forth grievances and rights of the Colonies in a dignified manner, and yet, while "yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachments to your Majesty's person, family and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs that are honorable to the power who receives them, and with people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth."

The Declaration setting forth the causes for taking up arms, adopted *July 6th, 1775*, was practically a Declaration of War, "not for conquest or glory, but for rights and liberties, for the defence of freedom, birthright and property," with a pledge to lay down the arms thus assumed, "when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed, and not before."

On the same day Congress adopted and issued an address from the twelve United Colonies to the inhabitants of Great Britain, entreating for the second time their serious attention "to prevent the dissolution of the ties which bound them together," and refuting the charge that the Colonies were aiming at independence.

On December 26th, 1775, the Delegates of the thirteen United Colonies in North America, in reply to the Proclamation of the 23d of August, declared that they were not forgetting their allegiance, and asked, "What allegiance is it that we forget? Allegiance to Parliament? We never owed—we never owned it. Allegiance to our King? Our words have ever avowed it—our conduct has ever been consistent with it."

AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION.

Not a little discussion has ensued as to the authorship, perhaps it would be better to say origin, of the Declaration of Independence, because it does not appear that the authorship can be claimed solely by anyone; for, while Mr. Jefferson may, very justly, be conceded to have been the writer or compiler, the Journals of Congress show almost conclusively that he could not have been the author, that is the originator, for every sentiment, every protest, every assertion of right, contained in the Declaration can be found many times repeated in almost the very words in the Journals of the First Congress, and more than a year before Mr. Jefferson became a member of the Second Congress. So, too, the credentials of the members of the First Congress were singularly full of the sentiment, protest and assertion of the rights of the Colonists, but coupled with a plea for the restoration of the harmonious relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

On this point reference can be made to the credentials of the "Counties of Kent, New Castle and Sussex on Delaware;" also to the resolutions adopted by the "Colonists of Massachusetts Bay," almost the very day the First Congress assembled at Philadelphia; and also to the report of the Committee appointed on the second day to state the "Rights of the Colonies;" to the letter of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston to Congress; to the declaration and resolves adopted October 14th, 1774, in which was declared that the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America "are entitled to life, liberty and property," and also that they "have never ceded to any Sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent," etc., and that they "are entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England."

Also to the address to the people of Great Britain, October 21st, 1774; to the plan of association, which was unanimously adopted October 20th, 1774, and was signed by fifty-three—all the members of the first Congress, and the only document of Continental Congress so signed, except the Declaration of Independence; to the memorial to the inhabitants of Quebec; the address to the King and to the

Declaration setting forth the necessity of taking up arms, adopted July 6th, 1775, or a year before the Declaration of Independence. This Declaration is said to have been written by John Dickinson, who was also the author of the last address to the King, and who apparently left Congress rather than sign the Declaration of Independence.

All of the then documents contained much of the force of the Declaration of Independence, and were the expression of the Colonies anticipating that event.

GROWTH OF INDEPENDENCE.

It is interesting to trace the gradual growth towards independence. Declaration of rights, and protests against taxation without representation had previously been made by some of the colonies, to-wit :

Plymouth, in 1636, declared that no act, law or ordinance should be imposed without consent, or by representatives legally assembled, according to the free liberties of free born people of England.

Maryland, in 1650, declared against taxes without consent, or assessed by their Deputies in General Assembly.

Massachusetts, in 1661, declared that, "any imposition prejudicial to the country contrary to any just law of their own, not repugnant to the laws of England, was an infringement of their rights."

Rhode Island, in 1663, declared against any tax other than made by the General Assembly of the Colony.

Virginia, in 1676, New York, in 1691, and Massachusetts, in 1662, made similar declarations.

So, it appears that the Colonists were very early imbued with the spirit of "no taxation without representation," but time and the limit of this paper will not permit further reference, except to the Congress which assembled in New York, October 7th 1765.

Mr. Pitkin, in his *Civil and Political History of the United States*, 1763 to 1797, (a rare work now out of print), the author of which was a member of the First Colonial Congress, which met at Albany in June, 1754, and of the second Congress at New York, in 1766, of which, Elephalet Dyer of Connecticut, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, R. R. Livingston and Phillip Livingston of New York, Cæsar Rodney and Thos. McKean of Delaware, Benjamin Franklin and John Dickenson of Pennsylvania, Christopher Geddess, Thos. Lynch and John Rutledge of South Carolina, afterwards members of Continental Congress, were members, said : "The gentlemen selected from the several colonies for this memorable Congress, were no less distinguished for their talents, than their patriotism. They were not only acquainted with their rights, but knew how to assert and maintain them."

While the celebrated Mecklenburg resolutions, adopted in May, 1775, are claimed to be anterior and suggestive of the Declaration of Independence, the records of the First Congress, which begun in September and ended in October, 1774, or nearly a year prior to the action taken at Mecklenburg, especially in "the plan of association adopted October 21st, 1774, and in the letter to the Colonies of St. Johns, Nova Scotia, Georgia, East and West Florida, approved October 22d, 1774, which said : "So rapidly violent and unjust has been the late conduct of

the British Administration against the Colonies, that either a base or slavish submission under the loss of their ancient, just, and constitutional liberty must quickly take place, or an adequate opposition be formed."

"The action of Congress, May 10th, 1775, recommending the Colonies to adopt such government as would best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constitution in particular, and America in general, was a preliminary step to a general Declaration of Independence."

The idea of a union of the Colonies was one of early date; it began in 1638, and took shape in a confederation of the United Colonies of New England, viz: Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Hampshire in 1693.

The general Court of Massachusetts, in 1678, in reply to an officer of customs, declared certain acts to be "an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of His Majesty in this Colony."

Afterward, another Confederation was proposed, during the reign of William and Mary, recommending a Union among the Colonies for mutual protection and defence; for the provinces, knowing their own condition, and one another's. * * * could better adjust their affairs for their common safety."

The Union proposed at Albany, in 1654, was rejected by the crown, "because it left too much power with the Colonies," and by the Colonists, "because it vested too much power with the crown."

Says Pitkin, (Vol. 1, p. 154.): "Though the motives and views of the Colonists were different, yet their situation, new places of abode, being in many respects similar, produced in all an energy of character and a spirit of independence unknown to the people they had left in Europe. They held their lands in fee simple and free from rent; or, as one said: "We are all free holders, and the rent day does not trouble us." Feudal tenures were unknown in America, every man being a free holder, from which he derived support of himself and family, he had the strongest motive to defend it."

The independent condition of the Colonists with respect to the tenure of their lands; the equality which existed between them; a general diffusion of knowledge: a share in the government, produced a love of liberty, an independence of character, and a jealousy of power, which ultimately led to that revolution which placed them among the nations of the earth."

Some of the first acts which appear in the records of most of the Colonies declare, "That no man's life shall be taken away; no man's honor or good name be stained; no man's person be arrested, restrained, banished, or in any way punished; that no man's goods or estate be taken away from him, or in any way endangered, unless by virtue of some express law of the colony warranting the same, established by the general court and sufficiently published."—*Ib.*, 889.

DELEGATES NOT SIGNERS.

As before stated, the American people are apt to look at the work done during the Revolution by Continental Congress through the eyes of the signers, many of whom owe their distinction in history to the fact, and only to the fact that they happened to be members of only the '76 or Independence Congress. On the other hand, the real workers of the Continental Congress, to whom much of securing independence of the colonies, and their place among the Nations, is due, are a greater number than those who actually signed the Declaration itself.

From New Hampshire—Sullivan and Folsom were members of 3 Congresses: John Langdon, (first President of the United States Senate, for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes cast at the first election for President,) and George Frost, were members of 2; John Wentworth, Peabody, Woodbury, Woodbury Langdon, Livermore and Gilman were members of 1, but not signers.

From Massachusetts Bay—Cushing, Dana, Lovell and Partridge were members of 2; Ward, Osgood, Lowell and Jackson were members of 1, but not signers.

From Rhode Island and Providence Plantations—Marchant and Connell were members of 3; Ward and Collins of 2; Varnum, Mowry, Howell and Arnold of 1, but not signers.

From Connecticut—Dyer was a member of 5; Ellsworth, Root and Huntington of 3; Dean, Hosmer and William Lord of 2; Sturgis and Adams of 1, but not signers.

From New York—Duane was a member of 6; Jay of 5; Schuyler and R. R. Livingston of 4; Alsop and Morris of 3; Boreman, Clinton, Duer, L'Hommedieu and Scott of 2; Henning, Low and McDougall of 1, but not signers.

From New Jersey—Elmer was a member of 6; Boudinot of 5; Livingston, Wisner, Smith and Scudder of 3; Kinsey, DeHart and Crane of 2; Seargeant and Cooper of 1, but not signers.

From Pennsylvania—Biddle was a member of 5; Alter of 4; Humphrey, Dickinson, Smith, Armstrong, Roberdeau, John B. Smith and Reed of 3; Mifflin, Willing, Montgomery, Allen, Searle, Shippen, McClure and Muhlenberg of 2; Galloway, Rhodes, Clingan, Duffield, Wynkoop, Ingersoll and Matlock of 1, but not signers.

From Delaware—VanDyke was a member of 6, and Dickenson of 2; Evans, Sykes, T. Rodney, T. Dickenson and Wharton of 1, but not signers.

From Maryland—Jenifer was a member of 4; Tighlman, Plater and Hanson of 3; Alexander, Ramsey, Forbes, Henry, Carroll, Wright and Potts of 2; Goldboro, Hall, Tighlman, Smith, Hennisley and Carmichael of 1, but not signers.

From Virginia—Jones was a member of 4; Pendleton of 3; Randolph, Washington, Bland, Arthur Lee, Walker, Hawes, Smith and Thos. Bland of 2; Patrick Henry, Page, Mason, Fitzhugh, Griffin, Adams, Bannister, Mercer, James Madison, J. Henry, Fleming and Randolph of 1, but not signers.

From North Carolina—Burke was a member of 4; Harnett and Hill of 3; N. C. Harnett, Caswell, Hawkins and Blount of 2; Williams, A. Jones, W. Jones, Sharpe, Johnson, Williamson and Nash of 1, but not signers.

From South Carolina—John Rutledge was a member of 4; Mathews of 3; Middleton, Gadsden, Laurens and Hutson of 2; Drayton, Kinlock, Motter, Eveleigh, Boring, Izard and Gervaise of 1, but not signers. Middleton and Laurens also served as Presidents.

From Georgia—Hall, Telfair and Walton were members of 4; Fero of 3; Bullock, Horton, Brownson, Woods and Clay of 2; Zubley, Jones, Walton and Howley of 1, but not signers.

Hall, (who represented only one county in two Congresses), Gwinett and Walton were signers. Bullock, Horton and Brownson appear to have been members of the '76 Congress, but not signers.

James Duane of New York, Jonathan Elmer of New Jersey, and Nicholas VanDyke, each served in six Congresses, (longer than any other members, except Roger Sherman of Connecticut, Thos. McKean of Delaware, and Col. Wm. Floyd of New York), and yet were not signers.

MEMBERS.

The total number of members of Continental Congress from 1774 to 1783, inclusive, was 233, viz: New Hampshire, 12; Massachusetts, 13; Rhode Island, 10; Connecticut 14; New York, 19; New Jersey, 21; Pennsylvania, 32; Delaware, 10; Maryland, 20; Virginia, 29; North Carolina, 17; South Carolina, 20; and Georgia, 15; an average of about 30 per year. Of these,

There were twelve from New Hampshire, to-wit:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Major John Sullivan, 1774-75-81. | George Frost, 1777-78. |
| Col. Nathaniel Folsom, 1774-78-79. | John Wentworth, Jr., 1778. |
| John Langdon, 1775-76. | —Peabody, 1779. |
| Col. Isaiah Bartlett, 1775-76-77-78. | Woodbury Langdon, 1779. |
| William Whipple, 1776-77. | Samuel Livermore, 1781. |
| Matthew Thornton, 1776-77. | John Gilman, 1781. |

Bartlett, Whipple and Thornton were signers of the Declaration. Thornton did not appear in the Congress of '76, but took his seat in November following, as a member of the succeeding Congress.

Wentworth, Gilman, Peabody, Langdon and Livermore were each members of but one Congress. Langdon was a member of the '76 Congress, but not a signer. The christian name of Mr. Peabody does not appear of record.

There were thirteen members from Massachusetts Bay, to-wit:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Hon. Thos. Cushing, 1774-75. | James Lovell, 1777-78. |
| John Adams, 1774-75-76-77-78. | George Partridge, 1779-82. |
| Mr. Samuel Adams, 1774-75-76-77-80. | Artemas Ward, 1781. |
| Robert Treat Paine, 1775-76-77-78. | Samuel Osgood, 1782. |
| John Hancock, 1775-76-77-78. | John Lowell, 1783. |
| Elbridge Gerry, 1776-77. | Jonathan Jackson, 1783. |
| Francis Dana, 1777-78. | |

Of these, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Robert T. Paine, John Hancock and Elbridge Gerry were signers of the Declaration. John Adams was the first Vice President, and second President; Elbridge Gerry the sixth Vice President; Artemas Ward was the second Major-General of the Army.

There were ten members from Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, to-wit:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Hon. Stephen Hopkins, 1774-75-76. | Ezekiel Conwell, 1780-81-82. |
| Hon. Samuel Ward, 1774-75. | Joseph M. Varnum, 1780. |
| William Ellery, 1775-76-77-78-81. | —Mowry, 1781. |
| William Marchant, 1777-78-79. | David Howell, 1783. |
| John Collins, 1778-80. | John Arnold, 1783. |

Of these, Stephen Hopkins and William Ellery were signers of the Declaration. The christian name of Mowry does not appear.

There were fourteen members from Connecticut, to-wit:

The Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Esq., 1774-75
77-78-83.
Roger Sherman, 1774-75-76 77-78-79
80-81.
Silas Deane, 1774-75.
Jonathan Sturgis, 1775.
Titus Hosmer, 1776-78.
Oliver Wolcott, 1776-77-78-80-81.

Samuel Huntington, 1776-77-78.
William Williams, 1776-77.
Richard Lord, 1777-81.
Oliver Ellsworth, 1778-79-81.
Andrew Adams, 1778.
Jesse Root, 1778-79-80.
Benjamin Huntington, 1779 80-83;
Joseph Spencer, 1779.

Of these, Roger Sherman, Oliver Wolcott, Samuel Huntington and William Williams were signers of the Declaration.

Titus Hosmer appears to have been a member of the '76 Congress, but not a signer. Silas Deane was Minister to France, but was recalled under a cloud. Oliver Ellsworth afterward became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

There were nineteen members from New York, to-wit :

Col. William Floyd, 1774-75-76-78-79
80-82.
S. Boreman, 1774-75.
John Henning, 1774.
Henry Wisner, 1774-75-76.
James Duane, 1774-75-76-78-81-82.
John Jay, 1774-75-76-78-79.
Philip Livingston, 1774-75-76-77.
Gouverneur Morris, 1774-78-79.
Isaac Low, 1774.

John Alsop, 1774-75-76.
Philip Schuyler, 1775-77-78-80.
George Clinton, 1775-76.
Lewis Morris, 1775-76-77-78-79.
Francis Lewis, 1775-76-77-78-80.
R. R. Livingston, 1775-76-79-84.
William Duer, 1777-78.
Ezra L'Hommedieu, 1779-81.
John M. Scott, 1780-82.
Alexander McDougal, 1780.

William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Lewis Morris and Francis Lewis were signers of the Declaration.

John Jay, John Alsop, George Clinton, James Duane, Henry Wisner and R. R. Livingston appear to have been members of the '76 Congress, but not signers. George Clinton was a member until a short time previous to the adoption of the Declaration.

John Jay—afterward first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States—had the distinguished honor of being the only delegate in Continental Congress who was especially authorized to act alone as a quorum from his State.

R. R. Livingston was not only a member of the '76 Congress, but also a member of the Committee to draft the Declaration, as well as the Articles of Confederation, but he did not vote for or sign the Declaration, and disappeared for a time from Congress.

Henry Wisner, as a delegate from the county of Orange, New York, entered Congress September 14th, 1774, and appears to have served continuously, until after July 4th, 1776. He does not appear to have been a prominent member, and his name is not of frequent record; his last service being upon a Committee appointed June 28th, 1776, on the subject of manufacturing sulphur. The record shows that he was in Congress July 4th, and apparently voted for the Declaration, but he is not of record as a signer, as on the 4th he was "impowered to send a man at public expense to Orange County for a sample of flint stones," and on the 16th July was "impowered to employ a proper person to manufacture flint stones."

Goodrich in his "Lives of the Signers," states in his record of the New York delegation in regard to Henry Wisner: "This gentleman was present when Con-

gress expressed their approbation of the Declaration of Independence and voted in favor of it. But before the engrossed copy was signed by the several members, Mr. Wisner left Congress, and thus failed of affixing his name to the memorable instrument." The Journals show the name to have been Henry Wisner, not Misner, as Goodrich has it. Thos. McKean, a delegate and afterward President of Congress, in a letter dated September 26th, 1790, states Mr. Wisner voted for independence.

There were twenty-one members from New Jersey, to-wit :

James Kinsey, 1774-75.
William Livingston, 1774-75-76.
John DeHart, 1774-75.
Stephen Crane, 1774-75.
Richard Smith, 1774-75-76.
Richard Stockton, 1776.
John D. Sergeant, 1776.
Dr. John Witherspoon, 1776-77-78-80-82.
Abraham Clark, 1776-77-78-80-82.
Jonathan Elmer, 1776-77-78-81-82-83.

John Cooper, 1776.
John Hart, 1776.
Francis Hopkinson, 1776.
Nathaniel Scudder, 1777-78-79.
E. Boudinot, 1777-78-79-81-82.
Frederick Frelinghuysen, 1778-79.
John Fell, 1778.
John Neilson, 1778.
W. C. Houston, 1779-80-81-82.
W. Burnett, 1780.
—— Condit, 1782.

Of these, Richard Stockton, Dr. John Witherspoon, Abraham Clark, John Hart and Francis Hopkinson were signers of the Declaration.

William Livingston, Richard Smith, John D. Sergeant, Jonathan Elmer and John Cooper were members of the '76 Congress, but not signers. Jonathan Elmer served six years in Continental Congress, yet was not a signer. The christian name of Mr. Condit does not appear. Of the signers, Stockton, Hart and Hopkinson were members of only the '76 Congress.

There were thirty-three members from Pennsylvania, to-wit :

The Hon. James Galloway, 1774.
Samuel Rhodes, 1774.
Thomas Mifflin, 1774-75.
Chas. Humphrey, 1774-75-76.
John Morton, 1774-75-76.
Edward Biddle, 1774-75-78-79-80.
George Ross, 1774-75-76.
John Dickinson, 1774-75-76.
Hon. Thomas Willing, 1775-76.
Andrew Allen, 1775-76.
Benjamin Franklin, 1775-76-77.
Robert Morris, 1775-76-77.
Benjamin Rush, 1776.
Geo. Taylor, 1776.
James Smith, 1776-78.
Thomas Smith, 1776-80-82.
James Wilson, 1776-77-80-82.

Geo. Clymer, 1776-78-81-82.
William Clingan, 1777.
Dr. Samuel Duffield, 1777.
Daniel Roberdeau, 1777-78-79.
John B. Smith, 1777-78-79.
Joseph Reed, 1777-78-79.
Wm. Shippen, 1778-79.
James Searle, 1778-79.
John Armstrong, 1778-79-80.
Samuel Alter, 1778-79-80-82.
Henry Wynkoop, 1779.
Jos. McClure, 1779-80.
Fred Muhlenburg, 1779-80.
Jared Ingersoll, 1780.
F. Matlock, 1780.
Joseph Montgomery, 1780-82.

John Morton, George Ross, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Benjamin Rush, James Smith and Geo. Taylor were signers of the Declaration, though Rush and Taylor were members only of the '76 Congress, and not until after the Declaration was adopted.

(Wilson was probably the author of the Judiciary system, and was one of the first members of the Supreme Court of the United States.)

(Humphrey, Biddle, Dickinson, Willing, Thos. Smith and Allen were members of the '76 Congress, but not signers.) John Dickenson, known as the "Pennsylvania Farmer," was among the ablest of Continental Congress, and author of many of the ablest papers in 1774-75 and '76, but apparently opposed to the Declaration, and retired from Congress rather than sign it.

(Galloway, Rhodes, Wynkoop, Ingersoll, Rush, Matlock, Taylor, Clingan, Dr. Duffield and McClure, were each members of but one Congress.)

There were ten members from Delaware, or the counties of Kent, Sussex, and New Castle on Delaware, as the Colony was known—being under the executive or Governor of Pennsylvania, though having a separate legislature—to-wit :

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| The Hon. Cæsar Rodney, Esq., 1774-75-76-78-81. | James Sykes, 1776. |
| Thomas McKean, 1774-75-76-77-78-79-81-82. | Nicholas VanDyke, 1776-78-79-80-81-82 |
| George Read, 1774-75-76. | John Dickinson, 1779-82. |
| John Evans, 1776. | Thomas Rodney, 1782. |
| | Philemon Dickinson, 1782. |
| | Samuel Wharton, 1782. |

Rodney, McKean and Read were signers. Evans, VanDyke, (a member for six years), and Sykes appear to have been members of the '76 Congress, but not signers. McKean's name does not appear among the signers, as published in the Journal, and yet his signature is upon the Declaration itself, and as before stated, but for his exertions in securing the presence of Mr. Rodney, Delaware would not then have signed the Declaration ; hence its adoption by the Colonies would not have been unanimous. He has the rare distinction of having served longer than any other member of Congress, to-wit : from '74 to '82. (Evans, Thomas Rodney, Philemon Dickinson and Samuel Wharton appear to each have been members of but one Congress.)

There were twenty-one members from Maryland, to-wit :

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Robert Goldsboro, 1774. | George Plater, 1778-79-80. |
| William Paca, 1774-75-76-77-78-80. | James Forbes, 1778-79. |
| Samuel Chase, 1774-75-76-77-78. | John Henry, Jr., 1778-80. |
| John Hall, 1775. | Daniel St. J. Jenifer, 1778-79-80-81. |
| Thomas Stone, 1775-76-77-78. | John Hanson, 1780-81-82. |
| Robert Alexander, 1775-76. | Daniel Carroll, 1781-82. |
| John Rogers did not attend. | Turbutt Wright, 1781-82. |
| Charles Carroll, 1776-77-78. | Richard Potts, 1781-82. |
| Benjamin Ramsey, 1776-77. | William Hennesley, 1782. |
| Matthew Tighlman, 1776. | William Carmichael, 1782. |
| William Smith, 1778. | |

William Paca, Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone and Chas. Carroll (the last survivor of all those who signed the Declaration) were signers. Matthew Tighlman, Robert Alexander and Benjamin Ramsey appear to have been members of the '76 Congress, but not signers. (Carmichael, Hennesley and Smith were each members of but one Congress.)

There were twenty-nine members from Virginia, to-wit :

Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., 1774-75.
 George Washington, 1774-75.
 Patrick Henry, 1774.
 Richard Bland, 1774-75.
 Benjamin Harrison, 1774-75-76-77.
 Edmund Pendleton, 1774-75-79.
 Richard Henry Lee, 1774-75-76-77-78
 '79.
 Thomas Jefferson, 1775-76.
 Thomas Nelson, Jr., 1775-76-79.
 George Wythe, 1775-76.
 Francis Lightfoot Lee, 1775-76-77.
 Arthur Lee, 1776-82.
 Carter Braxton, 1776.
 Mason Page, 1777.

Joseph Jones, 1777-80-81-82.
 George Mason, 1777.
 John Harvie, 1777-1778.
 James Fitzhugh, 1778.
 Cyrus Griffin, 1778.
 Thomas Adams, 1778.
 John Bannister, 1778.
 John Walker, 1778-80.
 Meriwether Smith, 1778-81.
 Joseph Mercer, 1779.
 James Madison, Jr., 1780.
 James Henry, 1780.
 W. Flemming, 1780.
 Thomas Bland, 1780-82.
 Edmund Randolph, 1781.

Harrison, Richard Henry Lee, Jefferson, Nelson, Wythe, Francis Lightfoot Lee and Braxton were signers.

Arthur Lee appears to have been a member of the '76 Congress, but not a signer. (Patrick Henry, Braxton, Page, Mason, Hewes, Griffin, Madison, James Henry, Flemming, Mercer and Fitzhugh were each members of but one Congress.)

There were seventeen members from North Carolina, to-wit :

William Hooper, 1774-75-76-77.
 Joseph Hewes, 1774-75-76-77-79.
 Richard Caswell, 1774-75.
 John Penn, 1775-76-77-78-79.
 Thomas Burke, 1777-78-79-80.
 Cornelius Harnett, 1777-78-79.
 John Williams, 1778.
 Whitwell Hill, 1778-79-80.
 N. C. Harnett, 1778-79.

Allen Jones, 1779.
 Willis Jones, 1780.
 William Sharpe, 1780.
 Samuel Johnson, 1780.
 Benjamin Hawkins, 1781-82.
 Hugh Williamson, 1782.
 Abner Nash, 1782.
 William Blount, 1782-83.

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn were signers. (Jones, Johnson, Williamson, Nash and Allen Jones were members of but one Congress.) Thomas Burke has the peculiar distinction of being the only member of Continental Congress who was guilty of an act requiring a reprimand or action of Congress.

There were twenty members from South Carolina, to-wit :

Henry Middleton, 1774-75.
 Edward Rutledge, 1774-75-76.
 John Rutledge, 1774-75-76-82.
 Christopher Gadsden, 1775-76.
 Thomas Lynch, Jr., 1775-76.
 Arthur Middleton, 1776-77.
 Thomas Heywood, Jr., 1776-77.
 John Mathews, 1776-78-79.
 Chas. C. Pinckney, 1777.
 Paul Tropen, 1777.

Henry Laurens, 1777-78.
 Richard Hutson, 1778-80.
 William Drayton, 1779.
 Francis Kinloch, 1780.
 Thomas Bee, did not attend.
 Isaac Motte, 1780.
 Nick Eveleigh, 1781.
 David Ramsay, 1782.
 Ralph Izard, 1782.
 John L. Gervaise, 1782.

Lynch, Arthur Middleton, Heywood and Edward Rutledge were signers. Rutledge was named, but not confirmed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. John Rutledge, Gadsden and John Mathews appear to have been members of the '76 Congress, but not signers.

(Tropen, Drayton, Kinloch, Motte, Eveleigh and Ramsay were each members of but one Congress.)

There were fifteen members from Georgia, to-wit:

Lyman Hall, 1775-76-77-78.
Archibald Bullock, 1775-76,
John Horton, 1775-76.
Rev. Dr. Zubley, 1775.
Noble W. Jones, 1775.
Button Gwinnett, 1776-79.
George Walton, 1776-77-78-80.
Arthur Brownson, 1776-77.

Edward Langworthy, did not attend.
Joseph Wood, 1777-78.
Joseph Clay, 1777-78.
John Walton, 1778.
Edward Telfair, 1778-80-81-82.
William Fero, 1778-80-82.
Richard Howley, 1780.

Hall, (who represented one county only in two Congresses,) Gwinnett and Walton were signers. Bullock, Horton and Brownson appear to have been members of the '76 Congress, but not signers. (Zubley, J. Walton and Howley were each members of but one Congress.)

From the foregoing it appears that there were eighty-eight members of the '76 Congress, viz;

New Hampshire, 4; Massachusetts, 5; Rhode Island, 2; Connecticut, 5; New York, 9; New Jersey, 11; Pennsylvania, 14; Delaware, 7; Maryland, 7; Virginia, 8; North Carolina, 3; South Carolina, 7; Georgia, 6. Of these but fifty-six signed the Declaration.

John Langdon, New Hampshire; Titus Hosmer, Connecticut; James Duane, John Jay, John Alsop, George Clinton, and R. R. Livingston, (one of the Committee,) New York; Wm. Livingston, John DeHart, Richard Smith, John D. Seargent, Jonathan Elmer, John Cooper, Henry Wisner, New Jersey; Charles Humphrey, Edward Biddle, John Dickinson, Hon. Thos. Willing, Thomas Smith, Andrew Allen, of Pennsylvania; John Evans, Nicholas VanDyke, James Sykes, Delaware; Matthew Tighlman, Robert Alexander, Benjamin Ramsey, Maryland; Arthur Lee, Virginia; John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, John Mathews, South Carolina; Arthur Bullock, John Horton, Arthur Brownson, Georgia—thirty-two in all—appear to have been members of the '76 Congress, but not signers of the Declaration.

Some, doubtless, never accepted their appointment; others were absentees, of whom Congress requested the Colonies more than once to attend, and whose absence was anticipated when their credentials were made to read: "Any one or more shall be deemed to be a quorum to represent this Colony."

Wentworth, Gilman, Peabody, Langdon and Livermore, New Hampshire; Ward, Partridge, Osgood, Lowell and Jackson, Massachusetts; Varnum, Mowry, Howell and Arnold, Rhode Island; Sturgis, Adams and Spencer, Connecticut; Henning, Low and McDougal, New York; Stockton, Seargent, Hopkinson, Cooper, Hart, Fell, Condit, Nelson and Burnett, New Jersey; Galloway, Rhodes, Wyncoop, Allen, Ingersoll, Rush, Matlock, Taylor, Duffield and McClure, Pennsylvania; Carmichael, Hennesley, Kinlock and Smith, Maryland; Evans, Rodney, P. Dickinson and Wharton, Delaware; Patrick Henry, Braxton, Page, Mason, Hewes, Griffen, Madison, Jos. Henry, Fleming, Mercer and Fitzhugh, Virginia;

Jones, Johnson, Williamson, Nash and Allen Jones, North Carolina; Troup, Drayton, Kinlock, Motte, Eveleigh and Ramsay, South Carolina; Zubley, Walton and Howley, Georgia—seventy in all; each appear to have been members of only one Congress.

Rogers of Maryland; Bee of South Carolina, and Langworthy of Georgia, do not appear to have accepted their appointments or to have been present at either Congress.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—In November, '75, Congress advised that if it be found necessary by the Convention, then apparently in session, to establish a form of government in that "Colony," it be recommended to that Convention to call a full and free representation of the people, to establish such a form of government as will "produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the Colony during the continuance of the present disputes between Great Britain and the Colonies."

Upon a report being received that a treaty of peace between America and Great Britain was about to take place, and that these two States (South Carolina and Georgia) would be ceded to Great Britain, Congress unanimously resolved, that, "said report is insidious and utterly without foundation." "That this confederacy is sacredly pledged to support the liberty and independence of every one of its members; and in a firm reliance upon the Divine blessing, will unremittingly persevere in their exertions for the establishment of the same, and also for the recovery and preservation of any and every part of the United States that has been or may hereafter be invaded or possessed by the common enemy."

NOVA SCOTIA.—It appears that this Colony had at one time under serious consideration the project of becoming united with the thirteen colonies. Some of the people of that colony having, in November, 1775, appointed a Committee of Safety, "and by petition, applied to Congress to be admitted into the Association of the United Colonies for the preservation of their rights and liberties." Later, Congress appointed an agent, John Allen, to treat with the Indians in Nova Scotia and tribes North and East thereof.

INHABITANTS.—In November, 1781, the States were requested to enumerate the number of *white* inhabitants pursuant to the Articles of confederation.

Congress, also, once directed that the quota of each Colony be determined according to the number of inhabitants of all ages, including negroes and mulattoes.

WHITE.—In determining the mode of voting under the Articles of Confederation, it was proposed that Rhode Island, Delaware and Georgia have one vote for every 50,000 *white* inhabitants therein, which was negatived, and resolved that each State should have one vote.

Among the objections to the Articles of Confederation, New Jersey requested that the word "white" be stricken out of the 9th Article, on the ground that as the Declaration stated that "all men are created equal," all the inhabitants of every society, be their complexion what it may, are bound to promote the interest thereof, according to their respective abilities." On the question to expunge the word "white," the vote stood: three colonies voted aye; seven voted no; one was divided.

South Carolina proposed that Article 4 should be made to read, "free white

inhabitants," instead of "free inhabitants." which was rejected : two ayes ; eight nays ; one divided.

NEGROES—THE IRONY OF HISTORY.

During the late Rebellion, Negroes played their part ; so did the Negroes during the Revolution, for on January, 16, 1776, Congress resolved, "that the *free* negroes who have served faithfully in the army at Cambridge may be re-enlisted, but no others."

The Committee on "Ways and Means, and Safety and defence of the Southern States," made a report that the Continental troops were insufficient for their defence, and upon request of South Carolina, recommended the raising of 3,000 able bodied negroes, not only as a means of defence, but also for the purpose of preventing insurrection among the negroes and their desertion to the enemy, and that they be formed into separate corps and commanded by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

It was suggested in Congress by the delegates of South Carolina, that a force might be raised in said State from among the negroes, which would not only be formidable to the enemy, from their numbers and the discipline of which they would very readily admit, but would also lessen the danger of revolt and desertions by detaching the most vigorous and enterprising from among the negroes : whereupon, March 29, 1779, it was resolved,

"That it be recommended to the States of South Carolina and Georgia, if they should think the same expedient, to take measures immediately for raising 3,000 able bodied negroes. That said negroes be formed into separate corps, as battalions, according to the arrangements adopted for the main army, to be commanded by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

"That the commissioned officers be appointed by the said States.

"That the non-commissioned officers may, if the said States think proper, be taken from among the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Continental battalions of said States, respectively.

"That the Governors of said States, together with the commanding officers of the Southern Army, be empowered to incorporate the several battalions of their States with each other, respectively, agreeable to the arrangement of the army, as established by resolutions of May 27th, 1778, and to appoint such supernumerary officers to command the said negroes as shall choose to go into that service.

"That Congress will make provisions for paying the proprietors of such negroes as shall be enlisted for the service of the United States during the war, a full compensation for the property, at the rate of not exceeding \$1,000 for each active, able bodied negro man of standard size, not exceeding 35 years of age, who shall be so enlisted and pass muster.

"That no pay or bounty be allowed to the said negroes, but that they shall be clothed and subsisted at the expense of the United States.

"That every negro who shall well and faithfully serve as a soldier to the end of the present war, and then shall return his arms, *shall be emancipated*, and receive the sum of \$50."

THE FIRST FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, to-wit: "On the re-capture, by a citizen, of any negro, * * * or other person from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed by another citizen, specific restitution shall be adjudged the claimant.

whether the original capture shall be on land or water, and a reasonable salvage shall be paid by the claimant to the re-captor not exceeding one-fourth part of the value of such labor or service, to be estimated according to the law of the State of which the claimant shall be a citizen; but if the service of such negro, * * * captured below high water mark, shall not be claimed by a citizen of these United States, he shall be set at liberty," * * * was passed September 27th, 1781, by a vote of 10 ayes, 2 nays—New Hampshire absent.

This vote was upon the second reading, the third reading being postponed twice, and again, on September 27, 1781,—Vol. vii., p. 193—was, on motion, declared out of order, and does not appear to have been considered. The index of the Journals indicate, however, that the paragraph was afterward adopted.

April 6, 1776, it was resolved that no slaves be imported into any of the United States.

UNIFORMS.

A Continental uniform, so-called, appears to be mythical. It was difficult enough to get clothing of any kind for the service without regard to quality, style, or uniformity. There was apparently a disposition on the part of some officers to imitate the British uniform, hence Congress resolved that it was necessary for the Republic to discourage extravagance and promote economy by public officers, and prohibited any officer in the service from wearing any gold or silver lace, embroidery or vellum, other than as directed by the Commander-in-Chief, or from wearing any uniform usually worn by the British Army or Navy.

CLOTHING.

It was recommended to each of the United Colonies to cause a suit of clothes, of which the waistcoat and breeches may be of deer leather, if it be had on reasonable terms, not to exceed sixteen dollars per pair, a blanket, felt hat, two shirts, two pair of hose, and two pair of shoes, to be prepared for each soldier of the American Army from the respective Colonies; the same to be baled, invoiced and stored for delivery to the order of Congress or the Commander-in-Chief.

Suit of clothing shall consist of 1 hat, 1 watch coat, 1 body coat, 4 vests, (1 for winter, 3 for summer,) 4 pair breeches, (2 for winter and 2 for summer,) 4 shirts, 4 socks, 6 pair stockings, (3 worsted and 3 thread,) 4 pair shoes.

Congress also appointed a Committee of one delegate from each Colony, to employ persons to purchase blankets and woolens fit for soldiers' clothes, and to take speedy methods for getting such made up and distributed among the regular "Continental Army."

It was required that as much as possible the cloth for this purpose be dyed brown, and the distinctions of the regiments be made in the facings; also, that "the man who brings a new blanket into camp be allowed two dollars therefor, and take it away at the end of the camp."

In 1777, a quantity of woolens fit for clothing the Army having been brought into Baltimore by a privateer, the board of War was directed to obtain the same and make into soldiers' clothes as soon as possible.

In the same year, the Commissioners to France having failed to secure clothes for 80,000 men before the winter, and other means adopted by Congress for importing clothing having also failed, Washington was authorized to obtain the

necessary supplies from disaffected citizens. Congress being of the opinion that well disposed people of the States will be pleased than otherwise, when the enemies shall be compelled to supply that which is essential to the comfort and support of the Army.

June 10th, 1778, Congress requested Governor Henry of Virginia, to purchase a list of articles, part of a cargo of a French ship, as cheap as he can, but not exceeding a rate of 450 pounds sterling Virginia money for every 100 pounds sterling, to be paid in tobacco at \$10 per hundred. The list included leaden bullets, different sizes, men's silk and woolen stockings, woolen caps, uniform buttons, red cadis for lining, coarse and fine shirts, woolen blankets, soldiers' hats, clothes, fine for officers, coarse for soldiers, brass inkstands, white flannel, sewing thread, linen spatter dashers for soldiers, handkerchiefs, powder, flints, wristbands for shirts, scarlet, and sky-blue serget, brown and white linings, sewing silk, shoes, knapsacks, brown and white linens, white Malaga in cans, red Burgundy in cases, claret in casks, and white wine vinegar.

September 6, 1777, Congress established the following uniform for soldiers, and the prices for the same :

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1 Regimental coat..... | \$8 60-90 dollars. |
| 1 Jacket, without sleeves..... | 2 60-90 “ |
| 1 Pair buckskin, 2 pair linen or woolen breeches..... | 8 00 “ |
| 1 Hat, or leather cap..... | 2 60-90 “ |
| 2 Shirts | 8 00 “ |
| 1 Hunting shirt..... | 4 00 “ |
| 2 Pair over alls..... | 6 00 “ |
| 2 Pair stockings..... | 4 00 “ |
| 2 Pair shoes..... | 6 00 “ |
| 1 Blanket | 6 00 “ |
| <hr/> | |
| Making in all..... | \$56 00 |

WESTERN BOUNDARY AND LANDS.

A proposition made October 13th, 1777, that the United States shall have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the Western boundary of such States as claim to the Mississippi or South Sea, and lay out the land beyond the boundary so ascertained, into separate and independent States, from time to time, as the numbers and circumstances of the people thereof may require, was defeated by the votes of nine States in the negative; one State voted in affirmation, one State divided, and two States not voting.

Congress asked the States to not dispose of any portion of Western lands claimed by them, but unappropriated at Declaration of Independence, as it would be attended with great mischief.

Delegates from Maryland declined to ratify the confederation until matters respecting Western lands be settled on principles of equality and sound policy.

Western lands purchased of Indians were ordered to be valued every five years, for the benefit of common treasury.

The Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Vandalia, and Wabash land Companies early claimed the attention of Congress, and with the more absorbing questions of Territorial claims, Territorial cession, and Vermont, as it was then termed, required

the best efforts of the strongest men in the several Congresses to, as they did, finally and satisfactorily dispose of them

In 1779 settling on lands beyond the Ohio was prohibited. In the same year a memorial was presented by the proprietors of a tract of land called Indiana, requesting protection against the sale of said land by the State of Virginia, within whose boundaries it was claimed to be.

In 1779, dispute having arisen between Pennsylvania and Virginia relative to the extent of their boundaries, which might be productive of serious evil to both States, and tend to lessen their exertions in the common cause, it was resolved that the contending States do not grant any part of the disputed land, nor disturb persons living thereon, and to avoid any appearance of force until the dispute can be amicably settled by both States, or brought to a just decision by the intervention of Congress, etc.

In 1779 New York delegates offered a resolution, that the several thirteen States are entitled to and ought to hold and be maintained in the possession of all the lands and territories which appertained to each of them, respectively, while they were colonies of, and subject to, the King of Great Britain.

That none of said States ought to be, or shall be divested of any land or territory over which they exercised jurisdiction at the time aforesaid, unless by judgment of Congress, in the way prescribed by the Articles of Confederation.

That no part or district of one or more States shall be permitted to separate therefrom and become independent therein without the express consent and approbation of such State or States, respectively, etc.

To facilitate the completion of the Articles of Confederation, by an act of Delegates on March 1st, 1781, the western boundary of that State was fixed as follows, to-wit: "A line drawn from the Northeast corner of the State of Pennsylvania, along the North bounds thereof, to its Northwest corner, continued due West until it shall be intersected by a meridian line, to be drawn from the 45th degree of North latitude, and thence by said 45th degree of North latitude," and ceded all claims to "lands and territories to the Northward and Westward of these boundaries to, and to be granted and disposed of as the Congress of the United or Confederated States shall order and direct." As the natural northern and western boundaries of New York were at that time, as now, the St. Lawrence, lakes Ontario and Erie, and the land North and West being in Canada, the value of the cession in lands is not apparent, but it apparently had an influence on the other Colonies in securing a like cession of their interest in the so-called Western lands, and so brought about the ratification of the Articles of Confederation.

TERRITORIAL LANDS.

On September 6th, 1780, Congress took into consideration the request of the Committee, to whom was referred the instructions of the general assembly to their delegates in Congress, respecting the Articles of Confederation, and the declarations therein referred to; the act of the legislature of New York on the same subject, and the remonstrance of the General Assembly of Virginia, which report was agreed to, and is in the words following:

"That, having duly considered the several matters to them submitted, they conceive it unnecessary to examine into the merits or policy of the instructions or declaration of the general assembly of Maryland, or the remonstrance of the

general assembly of Virginia, as they involve questions, a discussion of which was declined on mature consideration when the articles of confederation were debated, nor in the opinion of the Committee can such question be now revived with any prospect of conciliation; that it appears more advisable to press upon those States which can remove the embarrassments respecting the western country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, since they cannot be preserved entire without endangering the stability of the general confederacy; to remind them how indispensably necessary it is to establish the Federal Union on a fixed and permanent basis, and on principles acceptable to all the respective members, to the support of our army, to the vigor of our country, and the success of our measures; to our tranquility at home, our reputation abroad; to our existence as a free, sovereign and independent people; that they are fully persuaded the wisdom of the respective legislatures will lead them to a full and impartial consideration of a subject so interesting to the United States and so necessary to the happy establishment of the Federal Union; that they are confirmed in their expectations by a review of the before mentioned act of the legislature of New York, submitted to their consideration; that this act is expressly calculated to accelerate the federal alliance, by removing, as far as depends on that State, the impediment arising from the western country, and for that purpose to yield up a portion of territorial claim, for general benefit." Whereupon,

Resolved, That the copies of the several papers referred to the Committee, be transmitted with a copy of the report to the legislatures of the several States, and that it be earnestly recommended to these States, who have claims to the western country, to pass such laws and give their delegates in Congress such power as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final satisfaction of the articles of confederation: and that the legislature of Maryland be earnestly requested to authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe to the said Articles.

NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS.

Congress took into consideration the resolutions of the Committee of the Whole, June 1st, 1779.

"Whereas, animosities have lately proceeded so far and run so high as to endanger the internal peace of the United States, which renders it indispensably necessary for Congress to interpose for the restoration of quiet and good order.

"And whereas, one of the great objects of the Union of the United States is the mutual protection and security of their respective rights; and whereas, it is of the last importance to said Union that all causes of discontent and jealousy between said States shall be removed, and therefore that their several boundaries and jurisdiction be ascertained and settled:

"It is therefore recommended, that Congress be authorized to hear and determine all differences between them; *i. e.*, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York, relative to their respective boundaries, in the mode prescribed by the Articles of Confederation."

FUTURE STATES.

On the 10th of October, 1780, resolved, "That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular State, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress on the 6th day of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct Republican States, which shall become members of the Fed-

eral Union, and have the same right of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States; that each State so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100, nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; that the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular State shall have incurred since the commencement of the "present war," in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts or garrisons within and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed.

"That the said lands shall be granted or settled at such times and under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled, or any nine or more of them."

WOMEN IN BATTLE.

The myth of Moll Pitcher at the battle of Monmouth, familiar to those in boyhood days, but now of mature years, by the gaudy pictures in red, white and blue, wherein a woman—clothed in a red skirt, blue jacket, the sleeves of which were rolled up to and above the elbow, hair flying—was represented as serving in the midst of battle, at a cannon, in the position of ramming home the charge preparatory to firing at the enemy,—conveniently retreating in the distance,—occupying the most prominent position, where she could be the "observed of all observers," and toward whom she was looking instead of at the enemy, has passed away; but the realization of a woman serving at a cannon in actual battle, and being wounded, is shown in the proceedings of Continental Congress, and is, perhaps, the only case on record where a woman was so recognized by legislative enactment, for actual service as a soldier in battle, which is as follows:

MARGARET CORBIN.

July 6th, 1779, the following resolution was adopted: "That Margaret Corbin, who was wounded and disabled in the attack on Fort Washington, while she heroically filled the post of her husband, who was killed by her side serving a piece of artillery, do receive during her natural life, or the continuance of said disability, the one-half of the monthly pay drawn by a soldier in the service of these States; and that she now receive out of the public stores one complete suit of clothes."

July 25th, 1780, Congress resolved: "That Margaret Corbin receive annually during her natural life, one complete suit of clothes out of the public stores, or the value thereof in money, in addition to the provision made for her by act of Congress of July 6th, 1779." It was well that provision was made "for the value thereof in money," in lieu of a suit of clothes out of the public stores, as at that time a soldier's suit of clothes included a pair of "leather breeches."

MONUMENTS.

Congress voted a monument to the memory of General Warren, who fell at Bunker Hill, and also voted the "half pay of a Major General for the education of his three children from his death until the youngest shall become of age."

A monument was voted to the memory of General Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, and Dr. Franklin, Minister to France, was authorized to procure one to cost 300 pounds sterling, or \$1500, and that an oration be delivered by Dr. Smith, which was done Feb. 19th, 1776, when Congress adjourned for the occasion.

A monument was voted to the memory of Hugh Mercer, a Brigadier General in the army of the United States, who was mortally wounded in the battle of Princeton, to be erected at Fredericksburg, Virginia. And one to the memory of Baron DeKalb, who was mortally wounded in the battle of Camden, South Carolina, August 16th, and died August 19th, 1779.

Monuments, to cost not exceeding \$500 each, were ordered erected to the memories of Brigadier General Davidson of North Carolina, who fell at Salisbury, and Brigadier General Scriven of Georgia.

BILLS OF CREDIT, OR CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

The first emission of bills of credit, to the amount of two million of Spanish milled dollars, was ordered June 22d, 1775, when it was resolved, "that the twelve confederated colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit now directed to be emitted."

GOLD AND SILVER.—December 8th, 1778, all limitations of the price of gold and silver were repealed.

March 18th, 1780, Congress made provision for calling in outstanding Continental currency on account of its depreciation, to the rate of forty to one of silver, because at the time of the issue there was no civil government of sufficient energy to enforce the collection of taxes, to provide funds for the redemption of such bills, and provided that as such bills should be presented in payment of taxes to the several States, that such States should emit their own bills, the payment of which, with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. to be guaranteed by the United States, and on March 20th, 1780, it was made a *legal tender*, when Congress recommended to the several States to revise the existing law, making Continental bills a tender in the discharge of debts, etc. And again, on August 26th, 1780, "Resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to the several States to take the most speedy and effectual measures in their power for drawing in their respective quotas of the Continental bills of credit, to be destroyed either by a tax to be collected immediately, or by exchanging them for new bills, to be emitted pursuant to the act of the 18th of March last, at a rate of not less than forty of the former for one of the latter, so that the whole of said new bills may be issued."

LOAN OFFICES.

As a Ways and Means measure to raise \$5,000,000, Congress, on October 3, 1776, established loan offices in the different States, with commissioners to receive loans from the people at 4 per cent per annum, the commissioners to deliver the certificates therefor, the loan to be paid in three years.

In November, 1777, Congress, in giving the reasons why a call for \$5,000,000 from the several States required them to cause subscriptions to be opened for such sums as the citizens may be willing to lend; and recommended to the several States, by their separate authority, to appoint commissioners to regulate the price of provisions and other commodities for the use of the army.

DETAILS.

The attention of Congress to details was remarkable; seemingly the smallest item had attention; every bill and allowance, even as in one case supplying a shirt, pair of shoes and stockings, and also sawing wood for Congress, was carefully scrutinized, while matters of importance had attention of special Commit-

tees, the Committee of the Whole and of Congress itself. Complaints of individuals, disputes between officers, receiving and treating with Indians, appeals from Court Martials, and contests between Colonies, as between New York, New Hampshire and Vermont, so-called; in regard to the grant to Connecticut and Pennsylvania, etc., were duly considered and settled.

LOTTERY.

As another means to raise money, Congress, on November 1st, 1776, resolved to raise money by lottery, and a plan was submitted on the 18th of November following, and elected a board of seven managers; that only prizes be drawn, etc.

MINT.

February 21, 1782, Congress approved the establishment of a mint, and directed the Superintendent of Finance to propose a plan for establishing and conducting the same.

LEAD.

A Committee was appointed to make inquiry in all the Colonies for lead ore, and the best means of collecting, smelting and refining it. In 1777, lead spouts on the buildings in Philadelphia were ordered removed and melted into bullets for the use of the Army. In August, 1781, an appraisement of the lead spouts so taken was ordered.

CANNON.

March 22d, 1777, the Board of War was empowered to contract with Mr. Wheelen for a number of cannon of the new construction invented by him.

AMMUNITION.

To supply the Colonies with ammunition, Congress resolved that every vessel importing sulphur, gunpowder, or saltpetre, might export the produce of the colonies, provided they brought with the sulphur four times as much saltpetre, brass field pieces, or good muskets with bayonets.

ARMS—MUSKETS.

July 18, 1775, Congress recommended makers of arms that they make good, substantial muskets, with barrels $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, to carry an ounce ball, and be fitted with a good bayonet and steel rod.

SALTPETRE AND SULPHUR.

As early as June, 1775, Congress devoted one day to making provisions for collecting in the several colonies, with all possible dispatch, all the saltpetre and brimstone to be obtained, and to pay for the same out of the "Continental" fund; and also recommend that all the powder mills in the Colony of New York to be put in condition as to immediately manufacture gunpowder for use of the "Continent."

Salt.—A committee was directed to make a similar inquiry as to the best means of collecting salt. (Sundry persons having taken advantage of the act of Congress respecting the regulation of prices, such limit was restored in May, 1776, and again repealed in December following.

Atlas.—The Secretary was authorized to purchase an Atlas for the use of Congress.

Bibles. Congress, upon report of the Committee and the Chaplains of Congress, recommended the Bibles be printed by Robt. Aitkin, printer to Congress, to the patronage and inhabitants of the United States.

A Committee reported that type, paper and binding could not be had to print the required number of bibles, (30,000,) at a cost of less than 10,272 pounds, 10 shillings, or about \$50,000, besides the risk of importation, which amount must be advanced by Congress; therefore, the Committee reported it inexpedient to do so; but that, as "the use of the Bible is so universal, and importance so great," it was recommended that 20,000 bibles be imported from Holland, Scotland, or elsewhere.

Prohibition.—Congress recommended to the several States, "to immediately pass laws the most effectual for putting stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived, if not amicably prevented.

Pay.—Thirty dollars per day was voted to the Keeper of the new jail at Philadelphia; twenty dollars to each of his assistants, and ten dollars to the Turnkey. Subsequently the pay was fixed at \$60, \$50 and \$30, respectively.

The Commissary General was allowed a salary at the rate of \$40,000 per year; also six rations, and forage for four horses per day; and Assistant Commissary a commission of 2 per cent on all purchases.

McHenry, doorkeeper, and Robert Patten, messenger, were allowed \$40 per day, Continental currency, the value of which was 40 to 1 per cent specie, as fixed by Congress.

Bonds.—Commissions, bills of exchange and other legal documents received careful attention, and were in all cases prepared by a Committee and submitted to Congress for approval.

Troops.—Troops were ordered to be enlisted or drafted for three years or during the war.

Wood.—March 26, 1777, Robert Patten was ordered to be paid \$9 per cord for cutting wood.

Franking Privilege.—In 1781 the franking privilege was granted to certain officials

Postage.—In 1779 the rate of postage was doubled.

Orthography.—Of the words "œconomy," "cloathes," "Peeks kiln," "compleat," "Orkansas," and others, seem, today, rather peculiar.

Plays.—October 10, 1778, "Resolved, that any person holding an office under the United States, who shall act, promote, or attend plays, or play houses, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed.

American.—This word first appears in reference to prisoners, to-wit: "American prisoners in the hands of the enemy."

The first Congress more than once resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the state of "America."

Cornstalks.—November 15, 1777, a Committee was appointed to collect and digest the late useful discovery of making molasses and spirits from the juice of cornstalks, and report a plan for communicating the said discovery to the inhabitants of the several States.

BANK.

June 21, 1780, a number of patriotic citizens having formed a plan for the establishment of a bank, "whose object is the public service," Congress appointed a Committee to confer with the inspectors and directors, which Committee brought in a detailed report setting forth the object and purpose of the Bank, whereupon Congress pledged the faith of the United States to the Bank for their reimbursement and indemnity for any losses or expenses suffered in the public service.

May 26th, 1781, a plan of the Bank of North America, or National Bank, was approved, and on December 31st the ordinance for incorporating the Bank of North America was read and adopted, and the States requested "to pass such laws as may be necessary for giving the Ordinance full operation."

PRICES.

The fluctuation of prices in November, 1779, caused inequality and injustice in private dealings and made it impossible to make proper estimates for supplies, expense or salaries. Congress recommended the States to enact laws limiting prices in their respective jurisdictions, to take effect February 1st, 1780.

In making requisition upon the several States for supplies, Congress established prices as follows :

| | |
|---|--|
| Flour, 112 lbs., gross, \$4.50. | Beans and peas, per bushel, \$1.50. |
| Beef, grass-fed, \$5.50 per net 100 weight | Wheat, per bu. weighing 60 lbs. \$1.50. |
| Beef, stall-fed, \$6.50 per net 100 weight. | Hay, best upland, first crop, pr. ton, \$15. |
| Pork, fatted with corn or rice, \$7 per net hundred weight. | Tobacco, good inspected, per hundred net, \$6. |
| Corn, clean, well dried, per bushel. 75c. | West India Rum, good proof, \$1.66 per gallon. |
| Oats, well cleaned, 50 cts. per bushel. | Continental Rum, good proof, \$1. |
| Rice, well cleaned, per bushel, \$1. | |

Other spirits, good proof, suitable for the army, at prices in the usual proportion to the price of rye.

TAX DUTIES.

February 3, 1781, Congress recommended to the several States that Congress be vested with the power to levy, for the use of the United States, a duty of five per cent ad valorem upon all goods, wares and merchandise of foreign growth and manufacture, which may be imported after May 1st, 1781, etc.

That the monies arising from said duties be appropriated to the discharge of the principal and interest of debts contracted on the part of the United States for supporting the war.

Lakes.—March 26th, 1776, Commodore Douglass was ordered to the Lakes, to take command of vessels in that section. Capt. John Douglass was cashiered on August 12th, 1779.

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

April 28th, 1779, a committee was instructed to ask the President of Pennsylvania to "specify those transactions respecting Gen. Arnold which are likely to become the subject of discussion between Congress and the authority of the State."

In February, 1780, proceedings of Court Martial received, the sentence was confirmed, and on September 4th, 1780, his name was ordered smitten from the register of officers of the Army of the United States.

PAULDING, WILLIAMS AND VAN WERT.

November 3, 1780, Congress adopted resolutions attesting their high sense of the virtues and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, John Williams, and Isaac Van Wert, in capturing John Andre, and ordered that they be paid \$200 annually in specie; also that a silver medal be given them.

GENERAL LEE.

Monday, January 10th, 1778, it was resolved that Major General Charles Lee be informed that Congress has no further occasion for his services in the Army of the United States.

GENERAL BURGoyNE.

Congress having reason to believe that all the arms of the British Army surrendered at Saratoga were not delivered as required, and also that refusal of Gen. Burgoyne to furnish descriptive lists of the non-commissioned officers and privates of his army, directed an inquiry of Gen. Gates as to what became of the standards of the respective regiments, the military chest and medicine, the cartouche boxes and muskets, being less than the number of prisoners, etc.; why the quantity of powder is so small, and why the number of bayonets are so inferior to the musket captured from Gen. Burgoyne. Whereupon, Burgoyne, yet on parole, declared that the public faith of Congress had been broken, "in order to disengage himself and the army under him of any obligation * * * to these United States."

When Congress declared, "that the security which these States have had in his personal honor is destroyed," and ordered "that the embarkation of Gen. Burgoyne and the troops under his command be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention at Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of Great Britain to Congress," and ordered the vessels for the transportation of Burgoyne's army to Europe to quit the port of Boston.

ETHAN ALLEN.

The following may interest those who have had boyhood ideal heroes of the Revolution :

December 21st, 1775.—The Congress being informed that Mr. Ethan Allen, who was taken prisoner near Montreal, is confined in irons on board a vessel in the river St. Lawrence, General Washington was directed to apply to General Howe on this matter, and desire that he may be exchanged.

January 26th, 1776.—The Commanders-in-chief of any department were directed to exchange any officer in the British Army now a prisoner, of or under the rank of Colonel, for Col. Ethan Allen.

January 3d, 1777, General Washington was directed to offer in exchange one of the Hessian field officers, lately taken, for Col. Ethan Allen.

May 4th, 1778.—A letter from Lieut.-Col. Ethan Allen being read, it was resolved, "that a brevet commission of Colonel be granted to Ethan Allen in reward for his fortitude, firmness and zeal in the cause of his country, manifested during the course of his long and cruel captivity, as well as on former occasions," and,

May 16th, 1778, "That Col. Ethan Allen be entitled to all the benefits and privileges of a Lieutenant Colonel in the service of the United States, during the time of his late captivity;" and on

September 24th, 1778, it was represented to Congress, "that Col. Ethan Allen's circumstances have been greatly reduced by his late long and cruel confinement, and his brevet commission does not entitle him to pay," when it was resolved "that seventy-five dollars per month be allowed Col. E. Allen from the date of his brevet during the pleasure of Congress, or until he shall be called into actual service."

LA FAYETTE.

In May, 1780, the return of LaFayette to resume his command, was considered by Congress as a fresh proof of his disinterested zeal and persevering attachment, which have greatly recommended him to the public confidence and applause; and that they receive with pleasure a tender of the further service of so gallant and meritorious an officer, and on the 31st of June he was appointed a Major General.

TICONDEROGA.

May 18, 1775.—Congress, upon receiving the report of the surprise and taking of Ticonderoga, together with the quantity of cannon and military stores, by a detachment from Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, resolved that this was indisputable evidence of a design for an invasion of the Colonies from Quebec, and that the cannon and military stores captured would have been used in the intended invasion, recommend to the Committees of Safety of New York and Albany, to cause the cannon and stores to be removed to the south end of Lake George, and that an exact inventory be taken of all such cannon and stores, in order that they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and these colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self preservation.

OATH.

October 21st, 1776, Congress framed a form of oath of allegiance, wherein the thirteen United States of America were acknowledged free and independent States—and allegiance thereto admitted; also allegiance to George Third, King of Great Britain, renounced.

THANKSGIVINGS -FASTS.

Thanksgivings, or Fasts, sometimes both, were recommended to the people each year. The proclamations, as prepared each year by the Committees appointed for that purpose, are full of religious sentiment and piety. Thursday seems to have been the day selected for their observance, and on one occasion Congress adjourned to take part as a body, the sermon being preached by the Chaplain.

The situation having become most serious by reason of depreciation of the currency, Congress issued an address to the people, reciting the situation at the beginning of the war, the poverty and lack of minutiae of war, the struggles, the economy practiced, the prospect of the future, and closed with this appeal:

"Fill up your battalions; be prepared in every part to repel the incursions of your enemies; place your several quotas in the continental treasury; lend money for public uses; sink the omissions of your respective States; provide effectually for the expediting the conveyance of supplies for your armies and fleets, and for public allies; prevent the produce of the country from being monopolized; effectually superintend the behavior of public officials; diligently promote piety,

virtue, and brotherly love, learning, frugality, and moderation; and may you be approved before Almighty God, and worthy those blessings we devoutly wish you to enjoy."

CANADA.

March 20, 1776, Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll were appointed Commissioners to visit Canada and make known the terms and protection assumed upon their union with the United Colonies.

November 7, 1777, the Articles of Confederation were amended to permit Canada according to this confederation, and join in the measures of the United States. By striking out the word "entirely" before "joining," and to read, "Canada, according to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union."

BAHAMA ISLANDS.

To relieve the distress of the suffering islanders on account of their warm attachment to the States, it was recommended that Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina each export 1,000 bushels of corn to those islands, it being understood that the Court of France will cordially acquiesce. And Congress voted to permit the supplies to be sent for the use of distressed inhabitants, upon security being given that the same shall not be applied to any other use.

INDIANS.

John Allen was appointed an agent for Indians in Nova Scotia, and the tribes to the Eastward and Northward thereof. Much effort was made to cultivate and retain the friendship of the Indians. Very early agents, and afterwards commissioners, were appointed for the purpose, and in at least two instances they were invited to, and did appear upon the floor of Congress, and were addressed by the President.

In December, 1775, a body of Indians visited Congress, and a committee, consisting of George Wythe of Virginia, Thos. Lynch, Jr., of North Carolina, and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, were appointed a committee to confer with them; returning a friendly answer, Congress ordered the Committee to make them a present, whereupon an order for the munificent sum of thirteen and one-third dollars was formally drawn upon the Treasurer to pay for the same.

HISTORY.

July, 1778, Ebenezer Hazard, afterwards Postmaster General, was recommended by resolution as deserving public patronage in his labors to collect various State papers relative to the origin and progress of the several European settlements in North America, and such as relates to the use and progress of the present war with Great Britain, and that he be admitted to inspection of public records, and be furnished copies of such papers as he may judge will conduce to that valuable end. Also, that he be advanced one thousand dollars on account of expenses incurred.

FLAG.

The following terse three line resolution, adopted Saturday, June 14, 1777, set in solid type, without display, is the brief record of the birth of "Old Glory."

Resolved, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

Only this, and nothing more.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

May 27th, 1780, Congress adopted the Regimental formation of Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, and a Provost Guard, also an Engineer Corps, and October 3, 1780, it was resolved that the Regular Army of the United States, from and after January 1st, 1781, consist of,

- 4 regiments of Cavalry, or light dragoons.
- 4 regiments of Artillery.
- 49 regiments of Infantry.
- 1 regiment of Artificers.

INVALID CORPS.

July 16, 1777, Congress made provision for "raising a corps of invalids." * * * "Men having only one leg or one arm each, otherwise capable of doing garrison duty, are to be deemed proper recruits for this corps," and were required "to repair to Philadelphia and shew themselves to Col. Nicola in Front Street, four doors below the Coffee House."

PENSIONS.

Congress, in April, 1778, began to consider whether some provision ought not to be made for officers of the Continental Army after the conclusion of the war, and on May 15, 1778, resolved, that all officers who shall serve during the war shall receive half pay for seven years thereafter, and that soldiers shall receive a reward of the sum of eighty dollars.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

January 10, 1781, a committee reported, "The extent and rising power of these United States entitles them to a place among the great potentates of Europe, which our political and commercial interests point out the propriety of cultivating with them a friendly correspondence and connection," etc. Whereupon, Congress resolved to the "Department of Foreign Affairs."

Robert R. Livingston, a member of Congress in 1775-76-79-84, one of the Committee to draft the Declaration, was designated as the "Secretary to the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs."

April 20, 1779, after much debate and a separate vote upon the insertion of individual names, it was resolved, "that suspicions and animosities have arisen among the late and present commissioners, namely, Dr. B. Franklin, Mr. Silas Deane, Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. Ralph Izard, and Mr. William Lee, highly prejudicial to the honor and interests of these United States."

TREATY WITH FRANCE.

Congress, at Yorktown, Pennsylvania, on the 4th day of May, 1778, ratified the treaty with France.

July 11th, a letter was received from Silas Deane, dated "Delaware Bay," announcing his arrival from France with Count DeEstaing's fleet; also the arrival of Sieur Gerard, the French Minister to the United States, at whose reception by Congress, August 6th, it was ordered "that the door of the Congress Chamber

be open during the audience to be given to the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Christian Majesty, and that each member may give two tickets for admittance of other persons to the audience."

August 6th, according to order, "the Hon. Sieur Gerard was introduced to an audience by two members for that purpose appointed, and being seated in his chair, his secretary delivered to the President a letter from his Most Christian Majesty directed "To Our very great friends and dear allies, the President and members of the General Congress of the United States of North America."

To which the President returned answer, whereupon the Minister withdrew and was conducted to his home in the same manner in which he was brought to the house.

ADDRESS.

May, 1778, Congress adopted an address to the inhabitants of the United States of America, saying :

"FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN :—Three years have now passed away since the commencement of the present war. A war without parallel in the annals of mankind. It hath displayed a spectacle the most solemn that can possibly be exhibited ; on one side we behold fraud and violence laboring in the service of despotism ; on the other, virtue and fortitude supporting and establishing the rights of human nature," etc.

"Our enemies tell you, it is true, that your money is of no value, and your debts so enormous they can never be paid, but we tell you that if Britain prosecutes the war another campaign, that single campaign will cost her more than we have hitherto expended !

"It becomes you deeply to reflect upon this subject. Is there a country upon earth which hath such resources for the payment of her debts as America? Such an extensive territory? So fertile, so blessed in its climate and productions? Surely there is none, neither is there any to which the wise Europeans will sooner confide their property."

"What are the reasons your money hath depreciated? Because no taxes have been imposed to carry on the war ; because your commerce hath been interrupted by your enemies' fleets ; because their armies have ravaged and desolated a part of your country ; because their agents have villainously counterfeited your bills ; because extortioners among you, inflamed with the lust of gain, have added to the price of every article of life," etc.

"If you exert the means of defence which God and nature have given you the time will soon arrive when every man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

Mark the prophecy!

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

How this title came to be attached to the Congress of Delegates first assembled in Philadelphia on that now memorable Monday, the 5th day of September, 1774, and to the succeeding Congresses which met each year while the war of the Revolution continued, it is not now easy to determine, for certainly the official journals nor any document officially promulgated by it do not assume such a title, if we except a single instance, to-wit: the plan of association adopted October 20th, 1774, wherein it says: "We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the dele-

gates of the several colonies deputed to represent them in a 'Continental Congress', etc., etc.

The first paragraph of the Journals read: "A number of delegates chosen and appointed by the several colonies and provinces in North America, to meet and hold a 'Congress' at Philadelphia," etc.

The credentials of the Delegates, as a rule, do not suggest such a title as Continental Congress.

New Hampshire appointed delegates to a "General Congress."

Massachusetts to a meeting of "Committees" of the several Colonies on this Continent.

Rhode Island to a "General Congress."

Connecticut to a "Congress" or Convention of Commissioners, or a General Congress.

New York to a "Congress" at Philadelphia.

New Jersey to a "General Congress of Deputies."

Pennsylvania to a "Congress of Deputies." Subsequently, delegates from Pennsylvania presented credentials showing they were appointed to represent that "province" in "Continental Congress."

Delaware, or as then known, the counties of Kent, New Castle, and Sussex on Delaware, to a general "Continental Congress." Here let me say that the people of this colony were of record the most advanced as to a "Continental Congress" and independence than any other, Massachusetts, only, excepted.

Maryland to a "General Congress."

Virginia to a "General Congress of Deputies."

North Carolina to a "General Congress."

South Carolina to a "General Congress."

Hence, there appears no official warrant for the designation of "Continental Congress," nor do the Journals show any such title, with the exception referred to, but throughout the record "continental currency," "continental army," and similar descriptive words appear from almost the meeting of the second or 1775 Congress, as for instance, the form of bills for "Continental Currency" which was adopted June 23, 1775. (George Clymer and Richard Hillegas were chosen "Continental" Treasurers June 29th, 1775, and were required to give a bond in the sum of \$100,000 each, and to receive the munificent salary of \$500 per year.)

The Rules and Orders and Regulations to be observed by the "Continental Army" were adopted June 30th, 1775, and amended November 7th, of the same year.

Delaware appears to have taken the lead in styling it the "Continental Congress," as she did as early as August 1st, 1774, in the credentials of her delegates, which credentials were the first to contain the words, "Continental Congress."

And again in the plan of Association adopted October 20th, 1774, of a majority of the Colonies—although "American" and "General" appears in others—and "signed at the table" by the fifty-two members, twenty-two of whom afterwards signed the Declaration of Independence.

The designation assumed by the delegates to the first Congress, and in conformity with the credentials from a majority of the colonies, as before stated, appears to have been a *General* Congress, but the Journals and all official papers

subsequently issued, are signed by the order of "The Congress." Washington's commission was so signed.

But while the record runs thus, we shall go back to the demand of Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga, "by the order of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," and we may therefore join in and apply the sentiment uttered by General Sherman at the Centennial anniversary of Bunker Hill, when he is reported to have said, "Breed's Hill? No, never; Bunker's Hill it was to me as a boy, Bunker's Hill it is to me as a man, and Bunker's Hill it shall be to me forever." And so, "Continental Congress" it shall be to us and to posterity forever.

QUORUM.

The average attendance of members of "Continental" Congresses of 1774-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83, which in the aggregate consisted of 233 members, was less than an average of 30 per Congress, and even of this number it was impossible to secure the attendance of all the delegates from the several colonies, so that the credentials were in some cases, while naming several delegates, authorized one or more to represent the colony and constitute a quorum of the delegation.

October 1st, 1776, the President of Congress was requested to write letters to the respective States requesting a full representation of said States in Congress as speedily as possible, and on December 9th, 1777, the President was requested to write to the States of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina, representing to them the great and important matters to be transacted in Congress during the winter, and the few remaining members now attending, and that he request them to send forward without delay an additional number of members. Also to write in pressing letters to the States of New Jersey and Delaware, who are unrepresented, to send delegates immediately to Congress. Only fourteen members appear to have been present at this time.

SECRECY.

Congress, at the first session, adopted a resolution "that the doors be kept shut during the time of business, and that members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of Honor to keep the Proceedings secret until the majority shall direct them to be made public."

PRIVILEGE OF MEMBERS.

June 12, 1777, a Mr. Gunning Bedford having challenged Mr. Sergeant, a delegate in Congress from New Jersey, for words spoken in debate, it was

Resolved, That Congress has, and always has had authority to protect their members from insult for anything by them said or done in Congress in the exercise of their duty, which is a privilege essential to the freedom of debate, and to the faithful discharge of the great trust reposed in them by their Constituents.

Mr. Bedford was summoned to attend Congress and answer for his conduct. He was found guilty of a high breach of the privilege of the House, and required to ask pardon of the House, and the member challenged, which was done and the case dismissed.

March 7, 1776, one Isaac Melchier having treated the President of Congress with great rudeness, and used several disrespectful and contemptuous expressions toward him and Congress, he was ordered to appear before Congress, when he assured the House of not remembering his having behaved with disrespect.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances he happened to be under, and asking pardon of Congress, he was dismissed.

Congress could be and was "spunky" at times, when occasion required; as in the case of the Committee appointed to confer with Lord Howe, who reported that he desired to treat with them as individuals, and not as a Committee of Congress; that they informed him that the Colonies had declared themselves independent States; that as such they were settling their governments; that it was not in the power of Congress to agree for them to return to their former dependency as Colonies; that they could only treat with him for peace as independent nations.

Also, when the President laid before them a letter to him from Sir Henry Clinton, and a paper purporting to be an extract of a letter from Lord Germaine, one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State; whereupon, the Secretary of Congress was directed to reply, "that the Congress of the United States makes no answer to insolent letters."

BRIBERY.

July 9th, 1778, several members of Congress intimated that they had received letters from some of the British Commissioners. All such letters were ordered to be laid before Congress. A letter from Geo. Johnston, one of said Commissioners, dated Philadelphia, June 16th, 1778, to Robert Morris, was read. Mr. Dana, Joseph Reed and President Laurens also laid before Congress similar letters, which were ordered published.

Congress, having considered the letters to members, especially to Robert Morris and Joseph Reed, and the offer to the latter of ten thousand pounds and an office under the British crown, and his answer that he "was not worth purchasing, but such as he was the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it."

Whereupon, reciting the facts, Congress declared that it would not "hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with said Geo. Johnston, Esq., especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested."

YEAS AND NAYS VOTES.

The "Yeas and Nays" do not appear to have been required until 1779, the vote previously having been by Colonies.

In 1777 no vote appears of record from January 1st to August 9th, when the first yea and nay vote of members is recorded—22 voted, viz: 6 yeas, 16 nays, on a motion to include the words, "on account of his extraordinary merit and former rank in the army," in a new commission to be made out and sent to Major General Benedict Arnold. Again, on the question of a parole army granted to John Penn and Benj. Chero, a yea and nay vote of members showed 15 yeas, 16 nays, and on the same question, but different in form, the vote stood 11 yeas, 20 nays.

Yeas and nays were ordered printed in the Journals, August 27, 1779. Prior to that date the vote was taken by States and each State to have one vote. Names of persons moving and seconding motions or resolutions were ordered to be entered upon the Journals, March 15, 1779. The yea and nay vote of members also appears on the question of an inquiry into the cause of the evacuation of Ticonderoga—ayes 16, nays 14, and ayes 17, nays 9—or in all, five yea and nay votes of members.

All other votes were decided by a vote of States; which was the germ of the idea of electing the President by a vote of the States—and not by a vote of the people, as generally understood.

RULES.

Congress adopted a code of rules, which was a gradual growth, eighteen in number, for the government of the Congress. The name of the maker or mover of a motion or resolution does not appear in the Journals of any Congress prior to 1779, even the name of the mover of the resolution “relating to independence,” or, as the Journal reads: “Certain resolutions respecting independence being moved and seconded, Resolved, that the consideration of them be deferred until tomorrow morning, and that the members be enjoined to attend punctually at ten o’clock, in order to take the same into their consideration,” does not appear.

The following concise rules were adopted by the Congress, to be observed in debating and determining the questions that came under consideration:

That in determining questions in this Congress, each Colony or province shall have one vote. The Congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony.

That no person shall speak more than twice on the same point, without leave of the Congress.

That no question shall be determined on the day on which it is agitated and debated, if any of the colonies desire the determination to be postponed to another day.

That the door be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor to keep the proceedings secret until a majority shall direct them to be made public.

FUTURE OF MEMBERS.

John Hancock resigned from Congress to become Major-General of Massachusetts Militia, and became Governor of Massachusetts.

Christopher Gadsden was appointed Brigadier-General.

Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia.

John Langdon of New Hampshire, Agent of Prizes. As a Senator from New Hampshire he was chosen Vice President, “for the sole purpose of opening and counting the electoral votes cast for the first President and Vice President of the United States under the constitution.”

Thomas Mifflin, Quartermaster-General.

Wm. Livingston, Governor of New Jersey.

Samuel Ward, Rhode Island, died March 25th, 1776.

Richard Caswell, Governor of North Carolina.

Thomas Jefferson, Governor of Virginia and President.

Cæsar Rodney, Governor of Delaware.

Thos. McKean of Delaware, was the only member who served in all the sessions of Continental Congress, so-called. He was afterwards Chief Justice, and also Governor of Pennsylvania.

James Wilson, Advocate-General of the French Nation, and Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

John Jay, Governor of New York, Minister to Spain and France, and Chief

Justice United States Supreme Court. He had the singular distinction of being appointed and empowered to act as the sole delegate from any one State during the time of Congress.

Wm. Paca, appointed a Judge of the Court of Appeals.

George Wythe, declined the office of Judge of the Court of Appeals.

Titus Hosmer, appointed a Judge of the Court of appeals. Died August 25th, 1780.

Wm. Ellery, appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Admiralty.

R. R. Livingston of New York, appeared as a Delegate for New York, Nov. 11th, 1779. First Secretary of State.

Philip Livingston, delegate from New York, died January 14, 1778, under circumstances requiring his immediate burial.

W. H. Drayton, delegate from South Carolina, died September 3, 1779, under circumstances requiring his immediate burial.

Peyton Randolph, chosen President of First Congress, September 5, 1774, and of the Second Congress May 10th, 1775, died suddenly, October 20th, 1775. Chaplain Duche preached the funeral sermon.

Henry Middleton, chosen President of the First Congress in place of Randolph, who was unable to attend on account of indisposition.

Henry Hewes, a delegate from North Carolina, died November 10, 1779; funeral November 11, 1779, Rev. Mr. White, Chaplain General Assembly and President of Council of Pennsylvania, officiating; also French minister invited.

Forbes, a delegate from Maryland, whose name does not appear in the list of delegates, died March 18, 1780, and was buried March 25. Rev. Mr. White, Chaplain to Congress, officiated.

John Adams, appointed Minister to France, and elected President.

E. Boudinot, appointed Commissary-General of Prisoners.

George Clinton, Brigadier-General and Governor of New York.

Benjamin Franklin, appointed Minister to France.

Francis Hopkinson, chosen Treasurer of Loans.

Francis Lewis, appointed Commissioner for Admiralty Board.

Capt. John Hanson, afterwards Commissary, member and President of Congress, appointed to command the fortresses on the Hudson river.

Thomas Jefferson was first chosen to Congress March 27, 1775, "in the room of the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., in case of the non-attendance of said Peyton Randolph, Esq," and took his seat June 21st. Mr. Randolph was at that time apparently Speaker of the House of Burgess of Virginia, and signed Mr. Jefferson's credentials, as such, "At the capital in the city of Williamsburg, on Thursday, 1st June, A. D. 1775, in the 15th year of the reign of our Lord, and George the Third of Great Britain," etc. The word King is omitted. He was again chosen, August 11, 1775, to the second or Independence Congress, and again, June 20th, for one year from August 11th, 1776, and resigned October 10th, 1776.

Henry Wisner, as one of the delegates from New York, voted the thanks to that State for services in continental Congress.

Matthew Tighlman, Thomas Johnson, Robert Alexander and Benjamin Ramsay, delegates from Maryland in 1776, did not sign the Declaration, having been appointed after it was adopted.

John Houston and Nathan Brownson of Georgia did not sign, having been appointed after it was adopted.

Benjamin Harrison was chosen one of the delegates from Virginia, to the First or '74 Congress, and again to the Second or '75 Congress, for the year ending August 11, 1776, but failed of a re-election. He was, however, chosen to this Congress in the place of Jefferson, October 10, 1776. He was Chairman of the Committee of the Whole while the Declaration was under consideration, and as such reported it to the Congress for adoption.

GOVERNORS OF STATES,

When in the field, were to rank as Major-Generals. The one longest in office, where two or more were present, to be senior in rank for the time being, except that the Governor of the State where the troops were operating, though youngest in office, to be always senior in rank.

The executives of Delaware, South Carolina, and other Southern States, were for a time called Presidents instead of Governors.

JOURNALS.

The first publication of the action of Congress was made October 22, 1774, when it was ordered, "that the Journal of Proceedings of the Congress as corrected, be sent to the Press and printed under the direction of Mr. Biddle, Mr. Dickinson and the Secretary."

Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Lee, and Mr. J. Rutledge, with the Secretary, were appointed a Committee to revise the Journals of the 1775 Congress, and prepare it for the press.

September 26, 1776, Robert Aitkin was employed to reprint the Journals and to continue to print the same, Congress to purchase 500 copies of said Journal when reprinted, also to purchase such part of the Journals as Bradford, Sist & Co. have printed and not yet published.

September 16, 1776, Francis Hopkinson was paid \$200 for compiling the index to the first and second volumes of the Journals of Congress—and didn't do it very well.

November 11, 1778, twenty copies of each were ordered delivered to the delegates for the use of each State, and that the remainder of the 700 volumes which Congress have agreed to take, be lodged in the Secretary's office for the use of members.

In 1777 all proceedings of Congress, and all questions agitated and determined by Congress, were ordered entered on the Journals, and the aye and nay vote of each member, if required by any State, be taken on every question as stated and determined by the House.

That whenever any motion or resolution shall be entered on the Journals of Congress, the name of the person moving and seconding the same shall be entered thereon.

The Journals were ordered printed and made public, "that the conduct of the public servants be known to their constituents."

November 28, 1780, Journals were ordered sent to Commander-in-Chief and other officers, for the use of the Army.

JOURNALS OF CONGRESS.

- Vol. I. Printed by Robt. Aitkin, Philadelphia, 1777, containing the proceedings from Sept. 5, '74, to Jan. 1, '76.
- Vol. II. Printed by Robt. Aitkin, Philadelphia, 1777, containing the proceedings in the year 1776.
- Vol. III. Printed by John Patterson, New York, containing the proceedings from Jan. 1, '77, to Jan. 1, '78.
- Vol. IV. Printed by David C. Claypool, Philadelphia, Printer to the Honorable Congress, containing the proceedings from Jan. 1, '78, to Jan. 1, '79.
- Vol. V. Printed by David C. Claypool, Philadelphia, 1782, containing proceedings from Jan. 1, '79, to Jan. 1, '80.
- Vol. VI. Printed by John Dunlap, containing only the Resolutions, Acts and Orders of Congress for the year 1780.
- Vol. VII. Printed by John Patterson, New York, 1787, Journals of Congress, and of the United States in Congress assembled, for the year 1781.

Volume I contains the Proceedings of the First and Second Congresses. The record of the First Congress is mainly that of protest against wrong, and assertion of the rights of the Colonies, and of the inhabitants as Freemen, coupled with a desire for restoration of harmonious relations between the Colonies and Great Britain.

The record of the Second Congress, of Addresses to the people of Great Britain, Quebec, Canada, Ireland, and of the Colonies; an account of the Battle of Lexington; a Declaration of rights; on the taking up of arms, or of War; raising of troops; appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief; the emission of money, or Continental currency.

Volume II is a record of the Third Congress, largely relating to finances, the Army, Navy, Canada, Indians, Reports of Committees, innumerable minor details, and the Declaration of Independence.

Volume III is largely a record of minor details relating to the Army, its equipment and maintenance: the appointment of Commissioners to negotiate a loan in Europe; articles of Confederation; LaFayette and numerous foreign officers; Conspiracy in Congress; Disaffections, Postoffice, Western Boundary. In this volume first appears a record of the vote upon any question which was by States.

Volume IV is largely a record of financial affairs, of accounts, appeals from States, the army, boards of war, navy, Burgoyne, commissary department, reports of Committees, treaty with France, reception of French Minister, Confederation, currency, appointment of Dr. Franklin as Minister to France, Indians, army regulations, flag, rights and duties of States, minor details, and the first statement of expenditures, showing a total of \$62,154,842.63 in currency.

Volume V is a record of Finance, the Board of War, Clothing, Commissary departments, Commissioners in Europe, (their differences,) Recall, Report of Committees, Confederation, Army Details, Indians, Western Lands, Navy, Complaints of States, Vermont. In this volume first appears the names of those who made or seconded a motion, also a statement of expenditure.

Volume VI is simply a brief record of the resolutions, acts and orders of Congress for the year 1780.

Volume VII is, in part, a terse record, from January 1st to March 1st, of the closing acts of Continental Congress ; the ratification of Articles of Confederation by Maryland, which gave them validity, and the organization, March 2d, of the CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

PRESIDENTS OF CONGRESS PRIOR TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Peyton Randolph, Virginia, elected September 5, 1774.
 Henry Middleton, South Carolina, elected October 22, 1774.
 Peyton Randolph, Virginia, elected May 10, 1775 ; died October 20.
 John Hancock, Massachusetts, elected May 24, 1775.
 Chas. Thompson, Secretary, elected, *pro tem.*, October 29, 1777.
 Henry Laurens, South Carolina, elected November 1, 1777.
 John Jay, New York, elected December 10, 1778.
 Samuel Huntington, Connecticut, elected September 28, 1779.
 Samuel Johnson, North Carolina, elected June 9, 1781, declined.
 Thos. McKean, Delaware, elected July 10, 1781.
 John Hanson, Maryland, elected November 5, 1781.
 Elias Boudinot, New Jersey, elected November 4, 1782.
 Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania, elected November 3, 1783.
 Richard Henry Lee, Virginia, elected November 3, 1784.
 John Hancock, Massachusetts, elected 1785. (?)
 Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts, elected June 6, 1786.
 Arthur St. Clair, Pennsylvania, elected July 2, 1787.
 Cyrus Griffin, Virginia, elected January 22, 1788.

THANKS.

Thanks to their presiding officer came at first reluctantly, for when John Hancock, after nearly two and a half years' service as President, left the Chair, October 29, 1777, it was moved, "that the thanks of Congress be presented to him." It was also moved, "that it is improper to thank any President for the discharge of the duties of that office," upon which motion the States were equally divided, Massachusetts voting in favor of the motion, and also to the same effect against the original motion of thanks.

Whereupon, Congress being unable, apparently, to choose a successor, it was resolved, "that the Secretary officiate as President until a new choice is made," which was done by the election of Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, on November 1st, following.

On Wednesday, December 9th, 1778, Congress being met, the President, Henry Laurens, took the Chair, but before any business was entered on he arose, and having assigned sundry reasons why he could not continue longer to execute the office of President, he resigned, and immediately quitted the Chair.

DELEGATES.

1774—forty-five delegates were appointed September 5, 1774, as shown by the credentials read. No vote is recorded, but the names of fifty-two delegates are signed to the "plan of association" adopted 18th, and signed 20th October, 1774, the increase being delegates who were appointed and took their seats later.

1775—The number of delegates cannot be ascertained, the list of names

being very incomplete, as some held over from 1774, others were appointed who did not appear, and no vote being taken, those present cannot be verified.

1776—fifty-six members; credentials of those from New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina and South Carolina do not appear; the delegates from those colonies appear to have held over; no vote is of record, except that of the signers of the Declaration.

1777—sixty-eight delegates appointed; average attendance, twenty-eight; highest vote, thirty-one.

1778—seventy-one delegates appointed, the largest number to any one Congress; average vote, twenty-eight; highest, thirty-one.

1779—forty-three delegates appointed; average vote, twenty-five; highest, thirty-seven.

1780—forty-nine delegates appointed; no vote of record.

1781—sixty-five delegates appointed; average vote, twenty-five; highest, thirty-three.

The delegates twice acted in their individual capacity, only, to-wit: When they signed the Plan of Association, October 24, 1774, and the Declaration of Independence, which were the only documents signed by members as individuals, otherwise their votes, when recorded, were by Colonies or States. The Articles of Confederation were signed by members as delegates.

MEETINGS.

The operation of the armies made the Congress at times a “shifting use,” and while Philadelphia was designated as the place of meeting, the occupation of the city by the British compelled Congress to often meet elsewhere, as they did at Baltimore, Annapolis, Lancaster, and York or Yorktown, as it was called.

Congress frequently met twice a day, and occasionally held an evening session. It appears to have had two sessions on Sunday, August 3, and September 14, 1777.

SECRETARIES.

Chas. Thompson was elected Secretary of Congress September 5, 1774, and continuously re-elected each succeeding Congress until the Continental Congress ceased, or was merged into the Congress of the United States. He was chosen “Acting President” of Congress upon the resignation of John Hancock, and served as such until Henry Laurens was elected.

W. C. Houston was chosen Deputy Secretary March 25, 1777.

George Bond was appointed Deputy Secretary November 16, 1779.

CLERK.

Timothy Matlock was chosen Clerk to Congress May 15, 1775.

DOORKEEPER.

Isaac Lefevre and James Lynch were appointed September 7, 1774.

Robert Patten was also appointed doorkeeper.

Robert Hurrie, 1779–80, at \$8, \$10, \$20, \$40 per day.

John Fry, appointed March 12, 1781.

MESSENGER.

James Long was appointed Messenger.

PRINTERS TO CONGRESS.

Robert Aitkin, bookseller, Front street, Philadelphia, printed 300 copies of Vols. I and II, in 1777, by order of Congress, September 26, 1776.

James Patterson, New York, printed Vol. III.

David C. Claypool, Philadelphia, "Printer to the Honorable Congress," printed Vols. IV and V.

John Dunlap printed Vol. VI.

John Patterson, New York, printed Vol. VII, in 1787.

January 6, 1779, John Dunlap, printer, was brought before Congress for printing Thomas Paine's article signed "Common Sense," in the newspaper called the "Pennsylvania Packet."

CHAPLAINS.

The Congress of the Revolution was composed of men selected from the several colonies for their memorable conduct of the affairs of the incipient nation, who were no less distinguished for their talents, than their patriotism. They were not only acquainted with their rights, but knew how to assert and maintain them. They were evidently men of an earnest and practical piety, for one of the very first acts after assembling was the selection of a Chaplain. The Rev. Mr. Duche was chaplain of the First, Second and Third Congresses. During the session of the Third Congress he resigned on account of ill health, and, at his request, Congress deposited his salary with the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, to be applied to the relief of widows and children of such Pennsylvania officers as have fallen in battle.

Rev. Wm. White, (afterward the second Bishop of the Episcopal Church in America), and the Rev. P. Allison were elected Chaplains. Rev. Mr. Allison declined the appointment, when Rev. George Duffield was appointed as his successor. These chaplains were voted the sum of \$400 per year.

It is related of Bishop White, that while sitting one day at a dinner with that bold financier of the revolutionary time, Robert Morris, the latter said: "Bishop, I have made my will, and have devised to you all my impudence." "In that case," replied the Bishop, "you have certainly left me the greater part of your estate." "Yes, Bishop," interposed Mrs. White, "and it is plain you have entered immediately upon your inheritance."

"The story," says a lineal descendant of Bishop White, in a note to the writer, "is true, barring that the victim was Gouverneur, and not Robert, Morris. Gouverneur Morris could be impudent in social intercourse, and the Bishop doubtless thought him fair game."

RECONCILIATION.

May 26, 1775, New Jersey, desirous of making all proper advances to effect a reconciliation of the unhappy differences between the parent State and the Colonies, while being unable to comply with and adopt, directed the delegates of that colony to lay before Congress for consideration the resolution adopted by the British House of Commons, February 20th, 1775, in effect proposing that whenever any Colony should make provision for "contributing their proportion for the common defence" and the support of the civil government, such Colony shall be relieved of any duty, tax or assessment, except such duties as might be

imposed for the regulation of commerce, etc., to which Congress made reply, June, 31, 1775, asserting rights similar to those afterwards set forth in the Declaration.

SEPARATION.

While the under current was undoubtedly in favor of a separation, and even Nova Scotia seriously contemplated joining the colonies in their struggle against the Mother country, it does not appear that the general sentiment at the outset was in favor of independence; indeed, some of the credentials of the delegates of the First, and also of the Second Congress, acknowledged fealty to the King, and the jurat, affixing the official seal, closed with the words, "XIII year of the reign of our Lord and King, George III," etc. The first credentials of Jefferson had a similar jurat.

The address to the King, adopted at the close of the First Congress, said to have been written by John Dickinson, contained an appeal that the Ministers of the King be overruled, so that the relations between the Mother country and the Colonies might be restored.

On June 11, 1776, the first formal step looking toward a confederation was taken, by the adoption of a resolution "to appoint a committee to prepare and digest a form of confederation to be entered into between these colonies," which, it was decided on the 12th, should consist of one member from each colony, to-wit: Bartlett of New Hampshire, Adams of Massachusetts, Hopkins of Rhode Island, Sherman of Connecticut, R. R. Livingston of New York, N. Y. Dickinson of Pennsylvania, McKean of Delaware, Stone of Maryland, Nelson of Virginia, Hewes of North Carolina, E. Randolph of South Carolina, Gwinett of Georgia. No member appears to have been appointed from New Jersey, possibly because there were no members from that State at the time, as delegates were appointed some ten days later, the credentials being presented on the 28th June. Of those appointed, Mr. R. R. Livingston of New York, who was also a member of the Committee to draft the Declaration, did not serve, neither did he serve as a member of the Committee to prepare the Declaration, nor vote for it, but disappeared from Congress, and did not serve again as a member until 1779 and '84. Mr. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania was appointed a member of the Committee, and although a form of confederation in his handwriting was afterward considered by Congress, Mr. Dickinson apparently did not serve with the Committee, but also left Congress before the adoption of the Declaration. Mr. Dickinson, then familiarly known as the "Pennsylvania Farmer," was the author of some of the most noted Declarations adopted by the First as well as the Second Congress, but evidently was not in favor of a separation from Great Britain, and an independent government.

PROGRESS.

The progress from Colonies to Colonial Association, Confederation, and finally National Union or United States, was gradual, but sure. The harmony of opinions, merging of interests of sections into nationality was slow, but the solidification was the result of the necessity of self preservation.

The germ was sown in the Commercial Congress of 1753, at Albany; it took root in the Congress at New York in 1764, and burst forth the next decade in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774; and while at the outset the idea of conciliation with the Mother country was uppermost, even with Franklin, as

late as the first consideration of the Articles of Confederation, as shown in a draft which was made by him; but the idea was swept aside by the force of circumstances, and even John Dickinson, who opposed the Declaration, also made a draft of Articles of Confederation which looked to a separate and distinct government.

While a majority of the Colonies promptly gave adhesion to the proposed confederation, others declined at the outset, unless changes were made in the Articles as agreed upon by the Congress. One objected because the word "white" was not stricken out; others, notably Maryland, because the Western boundaries of the several colonies were not defined, and the land beyond, even to the then unknown South Sea, apportioned to the several colonies. The contest between Pennsylvania and Connecticut upon this point, threatened at one time to become more serious than that between New York and New Hampshire, in regard to the then so-called Vermont. New York apparently paved the way for a settlement of the disputes about the public land, by the relinquishment of her quota; but, while this action had its effect, there were no lands north and west of New York, as referred to in the deed of cession, to which that colony could lay claim, hence the proposal of Maryland that *all* the colonies relinquish their respective claims to such lands, and vest their right to the same in the United States prevailed, and solved the difficult question.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

Articles of Confederation were reported by the Committee, which were read, and eighty copies, and no more, were ordered to be printed and deposited with the Secretary, to deliver one copy to each member; "that the printer be under oath to deliver all copies he shall print, together with the copy sheet, to the Secretary, and not to disclose, either directly or indirectly, the contents of the said confederation; that no member shall furnish any person with his copy, or take any steps by which said confederation may be printed, and that the said Secretary be under like injunction."

July 22, 1776, Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the Articles of Confederation; and again, on the 24th, 25th, 26th, 29th, 30th, 31st, July, and August 1st, 2d, 7th and 8th.

On August 20th, Articles were again submitted from Committee of the Whole, of which eighty copies were ordered printed, under the same injunction as before, and were finally agreed to, November 15, 1777, or seventeen months after the Committee to prepare the Articles was appointed.

Congress, at Yorktown, November 17, 1777, "having agreed upon a plan of Confederacy for securing the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, transmitted authentic copies to the several legislatures for consideration, to form a permanent Union accommodated to the wishes of * * * so many States, differing in habits, produce, commercial and internal policy, was * * * a work which nothing but time and reflection * * * with a disposition to conciliate, could mature and accomplish.

"Hardly was it to be expected that any plan * * * should meet with the views of every State, but this was proposed as the best which could be adapted to the circumstances of all, and the best which would afford any prospect of being ratified."

"The Articles were earnestly recommended" to the immediate and dispassionate attention of the respective States, under a sense of the difficulty of combining into a system the various sentiments and interests of a continent divided into so many sovereign and independent communities."

"While regretting this delay in preparing the Articles, * * * every motion called loudly for its conclusion by ratification, * * * as being essential to the existence of a free people, without which we may bid adieu to independence, to liberty, and to safety."

The Articles of Confederation were signed by forty-eight members, ten of whom were not present at their adoption, [July 9th, 1778,] two of the absentees did not sign until February and May following, and one did not sign until March 1st, 1781, when Maryland ratified and so joined the confederation.

On February 24, 1781, on the report of the Committee appointed to report the mode of announcing the final ratification of the Articles of Confederation, it was,

"*Resolved*, That on Thursday next, March 1st, 1781, at 12 o'clock, the formal ratification of the Confederation of the United States be announced to the public, and that the board of war and the board of admiralty take orders accordingly.

"That this important event be communicated to the executive of the several States, to the members of these States in Europe, and that they notify the several courts at which they reside; also, that the information be transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief, he to announce the same to the army."

Friday, March 2, 1781, the Articles of Confederation having been duly signed, the Congress of the United States assembled, and the "Continental" Congress ceased to exist.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The first Congress under the confederation met March 2, 1781—thirty-one delegates present; Hon. Samuel Huntington was chosen President. On the first vote, March 16th, to-wit: On a resolution "recommending the several States to amend their laws making bills of credit, emitted under the authority of Congress, a legal tender, so that such bills shall not be a tender in any other manner than at their current value compared with gold and silver," only twenty-seven delegates voted.

I have scarcely gone outside the official record for the facts set forth in this paper, except, perhaps, for a few relating to individuals. And what is that record? Here, venerable with age, is one of the 300 original copies of the Journals of Continental Congress, so-called, containing the history of the origin, progress, adoption and signing of the Declaration of Independence, printed by the order of Congress, made September 26, 1776, prepared and revised by the hand of Charles Thompson, Secretary of Continental Congress through all its vicissitudes.

The venerable dust which this volume leaves upon the palm, is that which existed when those of whom we now speak were alive; by that dust we seem to clasp the hands, and stand in the shadow of the halo of glory of those whose names have become immortal.

Of this venerable body, while they are dead to life, to their country they still live, and will live forever.

While we, as Companions of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, rejoice that the "war is over," that both sides have not only a mutual respect for, as well as fraternize with, each other, yet—

Should a comparison be made between the motives and actors in the Revolution and those of the later rebellion, we might say that :

One was for the defence of the rights of freemen, the other for the perpetuation of slavery ; one was for the right of representation, the other to enforce disfranchisement ; one was for the right of free speech and self respect, the other to subject a people to oppression and degradation ; the one to make men, the other to make slaves ; one had the sympathy and support of nations, the other their detestation ; the actors in one are deemed patriots, those in the other were deemed traitors ; the people of one have taken their place among the great nations of the earth ; the people of the other are forgotten, only as they are a part of that nation by whose magnanimity they are permitted now to claim its citizenship and protection.

Such has been the impartial verdict of history, and such it will continue to be so long as history shall last, and the example is, and will be, a beacon light on the shores of the great ocean of time, to guide the people in the course of revolution for the right, and to point out the dangerous shores and rocks in the course of a rebellion for wrong.

Expenses incurred by the respective States during the Revolutionary War :

| | APPROPRIATED. | EXPENDED. |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
| New Hampshire..... | \$ 4,278,015 | \$ 3,195,061 |
| Massachusetts..... | 17,964,613 | 11,705,733 |
| Rhode Island..... | 3,782,974 | 1,805,366 |
| Connecticut..... | 9,285,737 | 5,829,493 |
| New York..... | 7,179,982 | 5,219,951 |
| New Jersey,..... | 5,342,770 | 3,999,449 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 14,137,076 | 9,446,390 |
| Delaware..... | 839,319 | 609,421 |
| Maryland..... | 7,568,145 | 5,975,514 |
| Virginia..... | 19,085,981 | 15,282,865 |
| North Carolina..... | 10,427,586 | 7,276,228 |
| South Carolina..... | 11,523,299 | 5,743,035 |
| Georgia..... | 2,993,800 | 1,578,472 |
| Total..... | \$114,409,297 | \$77,682,978 |

—*Pitkin, II, 538.*

ERRATA.

Page 16, Pennsylvania, 33 instead of 32.

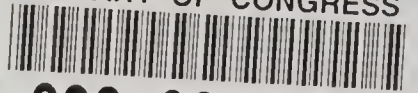
“ “ Maryland, 21 instead of 20.

Page 21, William Few, instead of Fero.

Samuel Holton appears of record June, 1778, as a delegate from Massachusetts, but his name does not appear in the official credentials.



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